Reliquiæ Sacræ CAROLINÆ

THE WORKES

OF THAT

GREAT MONARCH

AND

Glorious Martyr

KING CHARLES the Iſt.

both Civil and Sacred.

WITH

Aſhort view of the LIFE and REIGN of that moſt bleſſed Prince from his Birth to his Buriall.

Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. I. *Alii diutiùs Imperium tenuerunt, nemo tam fortiter reliquit.*

HAGUE,

Printed by SAM: BROWNE.


FIDEI DEFENSOR
Non enim te spreverunt Solum, sed me spreverunt, ne Regnem super ipsos.
Per Ecclesiam pictor.
Scotica
Ecclesia
et
ANGLI CANA
SIA
Guil: Marshall sculp:

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HAGUE,
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William Blake

A SHORT VIEW OF THE Life and Reign of KING CHARLES (The second *Monarch* of Great *Britain*) from his *Birth* to his *Burial.*

OUr Chronicles tell us of a Man in Queen *Elizabeths* time that wrote the *Ten Commandements*, the *Creed*, the *Pater-noſter*, the *Queens Name*, and the *year of our Lord* within the compaſſe of a Peny; and gave the Queen a paire of Spectacles of ſuch an Artificiall making, that by the help thereof, ſhe did plainly and diſtinctly diſcern every Letter. The contracting of the Life and Reign of King *Charles*, in ſo narrow a compaſſe as I have limited to my ſelf, may ſeem to be a work of no leſſe difficulty. And yet I hope to do it in ſuch a plain and perſpicuous manner, that *every one who runs may read it* without the help of any ſuch

Spectacles as our Chronicles speak of. To *Brevity* I am injoyned, and it must be my busineſſe to avoid all *Obſcurity*; though I am conſcious to my ſelf, that I ſhall draw this Picture with too much ſhadow. But I take the Pencil into my hand, and thus form my *lines*.

1600. *Charles*, the third Son of *James* the ſixth King of the *Scots*, and of *Anne* his Wife, Daughter of *Frederick* the ſecond, and Siſter of *Chriſtiern* the fourth, Kings of *Denmark*, was born at *Dunfermeling* (one of the principal townes of *Fife*) in *Scotl.* on the nineteenth day of *November Anno* 1600. derived by a long deſcent of Royal Anceſtors, from *Malcolm Conmor* King of the *Scots*, and the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, Siſter and ſole Heir of *Edgar Atheling*, the laſt ſurviving Prince of the Engliſh *Saxons*. So that his Title had been good to the Crown of *England*, though he had borrowed no part of his Claim from the *Norman* Conqueror. Which I obſerve, the better to encounter the extravagant follies of ſome men in the book called *Antinormaniſme*, and ſome other Pamphlets of that time: In which it is affirmed that this King had no other Right to the Crown, then what he claimed from that Conqueſt, and therefore that the *Engliſh* Nation having got the better of him by the Sword, might lawfully free themſelves from that ſubjection, which by no other Title then the Sword of the *Normans* had been laid upon them.

At his firſt coming into the world he was ſo weak and unlike to live, that his Chriſtening was diſpatcht in haſte, without attending the per-

performance of those solemnities which are accustomably used at the Baptisme of such Princely Infants. And as the name of *Henry* was given to the Prince, his Elder Brother, with reference to *Henry* Lord *Darnlie*, the Father of King *James*; by *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; so was this younger Son called *Charles*, in relation to *Charles* Duke of *Lenox*, the younger Brother of that *Henry*, and by consequence Uncle to King *James*.

Having received some measure of strength, 1602.
he was at the Age of two yeares created Duke of *Albany*, Marquesse of *Ormond*, Earle of *Rosse*, and Baron of *Ardmanock*; of which four Titles the two first and the last are wholly at the Kings disposing, to be bestowed on whom he pleaseth. But the Earldom of *Rosse*, falling unto the Crown in the time of King *James* the third, was so setled in the Crown by Act of Parliament, that it is not lawfull for the King to sell, alienate, or dispose the same unto any other, then to the second Son of *Scotland*.

On the 26. of *March* next following, *Anno* 1603.
1603. King *James* had news by Sir *Robert Cary*, one of the younger Sons of the Lord *Hunsdon* (who had stole a posting journey thither) that Queen *Elizabeth* was dead, contrary to the opinion of many of his *Scottish* Courtiers; who being wearied with the tediousnesse of their expectation, did believe at last, that it should never be acknowledged by the Lords of England that the Queen was dead, as long as there was any old woman of that Nation left, to weare good Clothes, and take the name of Queen up-

on her. For bringing which news the Duke of *Albany* (as if he were more concerned in it, then all the reſt of the Kings Children, as indeed he was) was afterwards committed to the Governance of Sir *Roberts* Lady, and he himſelf from that time forwards of principal eſteem and place about him.

This news being ſeconded by that of the Proclaiming of King *James*, for her true and lawful Succeſſor in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, the King prepared himſelf for *Engl.* At what time (as I have been told by ſome Perſons of Quality) a certain Laird of the *Highlands*, though of very great Age, came to his Court, to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his Children, the young Duke being then held in his Nurſes Armes. His Addreſſe unto the King conſiſted of Prayers for his long life and Proſperity; and thoſe Prayers intermixt with ſome deſires, that in the midſt of the Felicities and Glories of the Engliſh Court, he would not be unmindfull of his Native Country. Which having ſaid, without taking any great notice of the Prince, he applied himſelf wholly to the Duke, whoſe hands he kiſt with ſuch an Ardency of Affection, as if he meant they ſhould grow for ever to his lips. And when the King told him, that he had miſtook himſelf in his Addreſſes to the infant, as not being his eldeſt Son, and Prince of *Scotland*; he anſwered, that he knew well enough what he did, and that it was this Child in whom his Name and Memory was to be perpetuated to ſucceeding Ages, with other Speeches of like nature. Which being then either unregarded, or imputed unto Age and dotage,

tage, were called to mind after the death of Prince *Henry*, and then believed to have something in them of a Prophetical spirit.

But to proceed, On the fifth day of *April* in the year 1603. King *James* began his journey for *England*, and in the end of *May*, the Queen accompanied with Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, set forwards also; finding at *Berwick*, a Noble Train of Lords and Ladies sent thither from the Court to attend her coming, and waite upon her in her journey. The next yeare order was given for bringing the young Duke to 1604.
the Court of *England*. But before such as had the Charge of him could begin their journey, the young Duke was taken with a fever. Which being signified to the King, he sent thither Dr. *Atkins* one of his Physicians, who in six weekes restored him to such a degree of health as made him fit to be removed to a Warmer Aire, and a more comfortable Climate.

On the sixteenth of *July* this Remove began, which brought him by short and easie stages in the first week of *October*, to *Windsor* Castle, where the King then was, by whom he was committed to the Governance of the Lady *Cary*, as before is said. And not long after, for his better welcome into *England*, he was on the sixth day of *January* next following (commonly called *Twelfth-day*) invested solemnly with the Title of Duke of *York*, by Cincture of a Sword, imposition of a Cap and Coronet of gold upon his Head, and by delivering unto him a Verge of Gold; himself with ten others of eminent Nobility, having been made Knights of the Bath

(with

(with all the accuſtomed Ceremonies) the day before.

1606. In the ſixth year of his Age, he was taken from the charge of his Woman (though not from the Motherly ſuper-inſpection of the Lady *Cary*) and committed to the Pedagogy of Mr. *Thomas Murray*, a *Scot* by Nation; ſufficiently qualified for that ſervice, but otherwiſe ill Principled in the Rites and Ceremonies by which the *Church* of England differed from the *Kirk* of *Scotland*. Under this Tutor the young Duke advanced exceedingly in the way of good Letters; the weakneſſe of his lower parts, which made him unapt for Exerciſes and feats of Activity, rendring him more retired and ſtudious, and more intent upon his Book then he had been otherwiſe. Which Prince *Henry* taking notice of, as he, the young Duke, Dr. *Abbot* then newly made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with many of
1610. the Nobility, were waiting in the Privy-Chamber for the Kings coming out; the Prince (to put a jeſt upon him) took the Arch-Biſhops Square-Cap out of his hand, and put it on his Brothers head, telling him that if he continued a good boy, and followed his Book, he would make him one day Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Which the child took in ſuch diſdain, that he threw the Cap upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, not being without much difficulty and ſome force taken off from that eagerneſſe.

This, though at firſt it was not otherwiſe beheld then as an Act of Childiſh paſſion, yet when his Brother Prince *Henry* died, and that he

he was Heire apparent to the Crown, it was taken up by many zealous Church-men for ſome ill Preſage unto the Hierarchy of Biſhops, the overthrow whereof by his Act and Power, did ſeeme to be foreſignified by it. But in that their feares were groundleſſe, and their conjectures no better grounded then their feares, there never being a more gracious Patron to the Church, nor a more reſolute Champion in behalf of the Hierarchy then he proved to be. What it preſaged (if there were any preſaging in it) in reference to the Arch-Biſhops Perſon, may be ſhewn hereafter.

In the eleventh year of his Age, he was made Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and on the ſixth day of *November*, *Anno* 1612. he loſt his Brother Prince *Henry*, whom he immediately ſucceeded in the Dukedom of *Cornwal*, with all the Royalties, Rents, Profits, and Commodities of it; according to the entail which was made thereof by King *Edward* the third, when he conferred it upon *Edward* the black Prince, his eldeſt Son. 1611. 1612.

The firſt ſolemne Act which he appeared in after this change of his condition, was at the Funerall of Prince *Henry* on the ſeventh of *December* following, at which he attended as chiefe Mourner. And on the fourteenth of *February* then next enſuing, being Sunday, and St. *Valentines* day, he performed the Office of a Brideman (a Paranymph the Grecians call him) to the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* his Siſter, married upon that day to *Frederick* the fifth, Prince Elector *Palatine*: A marriage which drew him afterwards into

into many cares and great expences, of which more hereafter.

In his Childhood he was noted to be very wilfull, somewhat inclining to a perverseneſſe of diſpoſition, which might proceed from that retiredneſſe, which the imperfection of his Speech, not fitting him for publick diſcourſe, and the weakneſſe of his limbs and joynts (as unfit for Action) made him moſt delight in. But now being grown both in yeares and ſtate, he began to ſhake off that retiredneſſe, and betake himſelf to all manner of manlike exerciſes; ſuch as were Vaulting, riding great Horſes, running at the Ring, ſhooting in croſſe-bowes, Muskets, and ſometimes in great Pieces of Ordnance, in which he became ſo perfect, that he was thought to be the beſt Marks-man, and the moſt comely manager of a great Horſe of any one in all three Kingdoms. And as he ſhaked off this retiredneſſe, ſo he corrected in himſelf the Peccancy of that humour which had grown up with it; there being no man to be found of an evener temper, more pliant to good Counſel, or leſſe wedded then he was to his own opinion.

1616. On the third of *November*, *Anno*. 1616. He was at *White-Hall* (with all the accuſtomed Solemnities) created Prince of *Wales*, Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*; and put into the actuall poſſeſſion of all the Regalities, Profits, and Commodities belonging to them; his Houſhould being then formed and conſtituted, and all the Officers of State, which belong unto him, appointed to their ſeverall places. And now it was expected that he ſhould break out into more glory then he

he had done formerly, and take upon him as the Heir of so great an Empire. But considering very wisely that the forward and enterprizing nature of his Brother Prince *Henry*, the popularity which he affected, and the great resort of young Noble-men continually unto his Court, had been displeasing to his Father; resolved to keep himself at a close ward, and not to seem so great as he was, that, when time served he might appeare greater then he seemed to be. Old Princes do not love to have their eldest Sons too active, and to tread too close upon their heels; and therefore many times do interpose the power of a favorite to keep them at the greater distance. A policy much used by King *James* in the whole course of his Government, who for that cause in the life-time of Prince *Henry*, took Sir *Robert Carr* into his most especiall favour, whom he first made Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and on the twenty fifth of *March Anno.* 1611. Created Viscount *Rochester*, and the same year made Knight of the Garter also, conferring on him all the power and trust he was capable of; that by the greatnesse of the one he might keep down the daring nature and confident Spirit of the other.

Prince *Charles* understood this well enough, and carried himself with so much prudence, that he disputed not the Power of his Fathers Favorites, suffering all Honours, Offices, and other matters at the Court to be carried by them as best pleased the King. Which though it was generally ascribed unto Pusillanimity, & the defect of Spirit in him, yet was it lookt upon, as an Act

of

of the greatest wisdom by more knowing men. For had he any waies crost the designs and Counsels either of *Carr* then Earl of *Somerset*, or of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Fathers Favourites (who at that time did much out-shine him) he had not onely incurred the Kings displeasure, but of necessity must have divided the Court, and by consequence the Kingdom also into severall factions, each labouring to advance their own, though to the Ruine and Destruction of the publick Peace. Onely to take off somewhat of the imputation, he made so much use of his power and interesse with the King, as to prefer three of his servants unto Titles of Honour, *Anno.* 1621. *viz.* Sir *Robert Cary* Chamberlain of his Houshold, to the Title of Lord *Cary* of *Lepington*; Sir *Thomas Howard*, second Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Master of his Horse, to the Honour of Viscount *Andover*, and Lord *Howard* of *Charlton*; and Sir *John Vaughan* Controller of his Houshold, to the Honour of Lord *Vaughan* of *Molingar* in the Realm of *Ireland*.

1618. On the eighteenth day of *November*, *Anno* 1618. There appeared a great blazing Star, the forerunner of many wofull events in these parts of Christendom. But the first sad effect thereof which we found in *England*, was the death of Queen *Anne*, which hapned on *Tuesday* the second of *March* next following. A losse which the Prince bare with great equanimity, or evenesse of Spirit; neither banishing all shews of grief with a *Stoical* Apathie, nor spending his time in too much womanish lamentation. At the

the Funerall of this great Queen, he was principall Mourner, and it became him so to be; she having alwaies been to him a tender and indulgent Mother, expressing more affection to him then to all the rest of her Children.

Not long after the death of the Queen, King *James* fell very sick at *Newmarket*, and having a desire to come to *London*, advanced on his way as far as *Royston*, where he was fain to stay till 1619. his sickness was over, which at last became so dangerous, that his death was feared. At what time Dr. *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester* attending on him, bewailed with great Affliction the sad condition which the Church was like to fall into, if God should take away his life; the Prince being in the hands of the *Scots*, which made up the greatest part of his Houshold, and not well principled by those which had the tutelage of him, either as to the Government or *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*. The King acknowledging this sad truth, and condemning his own negligence in it, made a solemn vow, that if God would be pleased to restore him to his health, he would take the Prince into his own immediate care, instruct him in the controversies of Religion, and set him on so right a bottom, that there should be no fear of his dis-affection either unto the Hierarchy, or the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; which he did accordingly. And he did it so effectually, that at such time as the Prince made his journey into *Spain*, and that some principall persons in all the Places and Offices belonging to him, were to follow after, Dr. *Maw* and Dr. *Wren* two of his Chaplains being

being appointed for that service, came to King *James* to know his pleasure and commands. The King advised them not to put themselves upon any unnecessary Disputations, but to be onely on the Defensive part, if they should be challenged. And when it was answered that there could be no reason to engage in such Disputations, where there could be no Moderator; the King replied, that *Charles* should moderate between them and the opposite party. At which when one of them seemed to smile on the other, the King proceeded, and told them, that *Charles* should manage a point in Controversie with he best studied Divine of them all; and that he had trained up *George* so far as to hold the Conclusion, though he had not yet made him able to prove the Premisses.

On Friday the twenty fourth of *March*, *Anno* 1619. The Prince with the Marquesse of *Hamilton*, Marquesse of *Buckingham*, diverse Earles and others performed great Justing at *White-Hall* in honour of the day, being the day of King *James* his happy coming to the Crown of
1620. *England*. And on the Sunday after, being Midlent Sunday, he attended his Father to St. *Pauls Crosse*, conducted in a most solemn manner from *Temple Bar* to that Church by the Lord *Major* and Aldermen, and at the entrance into the Church, received by the Dean and Chapter in their rich Copes, and other Ecclesiasticall Habits, and by them conducted into the Quire; where having heard the Divine service for that day most solemnly performed with *Organs*, *Cornets*, and *Sagbots*, they went to a prepared place

where

where they heard the Sermon at the Crosse preacht by Dr. *King*, then Lord Bishop of *London*; and from thence unto the Bishops Palace, where they were entertained with a Banquet. Infinite was the concourse of People at both those Solemnities, and all of them returned with great joy and comfort to see him so bravely accomplisht in the one, so devoutly reverent in the other.

On Tuesday the eighteenth of *February*, *Anno* 1622. Accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Endimion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*, he took ship at *Dover*, arrived at *Bulloign* in *France*, and from thence rode Post to the Court of *Spain*. The occasion this; *Frederick* Prince Elector *Palatine* had inconsiderately taken on himself the Crown of *Bohemia*, *Anno* 1619. and for so doing, was by the Emperor deprived of his Ancient Patrimony; the Electorall dignity together with the upper Palatinate being conferred on the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the lower on the King of *Spain*, who possest himself of all of it except the Towns of *Heidelberg*, *Frankendale*, and *Manheim*, well manned and Garrisoned by the *English*. For the preserving of which places, and the recovery of the whole, when all means else had proved ineffectuall, it was held most expedient to negotiate a Marriage betwixt Prince *Charles* and the Daughter of *Spain*. Which being first managed by the Leiger Embassadors in both Courts, was afterwards prosecuted with more particular instructions by *John* Lord *Digby* (well verst and studied in that Court) whom the King sent as his 1622.

Embassador extraordinary to conclude the match. But *Digby* being fed with delaies from one time to another, it was resolved by King *James*, without making any of his Councel acquainted wit it, that the Prince himself should go in Person, that he might either speed the Businesse, or break off the Treaty.

According to this Resolution he began his journey, no otherwise accompanied or attended then with those three Persons above mentioned, all of them passing in disguise, to avoid discovery. Being come to *Paris*, they adventured to see the Court, where at a *Mask*, he had a view of that most excellent Princesse whom he after married. But no sooner had he left the City, then the *French* King had Advertisement of his being there, who thereupon dispatcht away severall Posts to stay him in his journey, and bring him back; but the Prince had past beyond *Bayonne*, the last Town in *France*, without being overtaken by them, and posting speedily to *Madrid*, entred the Lord Embassadors Lodging, without being known to any but his Confidents onely.

News of his safe Arrivall there being brought to the King, there was a present order taken for the sending of his Servants of all sorts, to attend upon him in that Court, that so he might appear amongst them in the greater Lustre. But this lessened not the Cares and Feares of the *English* Subjects, who could not be more glad to hear of his safety, then they were afraid of the danger which he had incurred. For having put himself into the Power of the King of *Spain*, it was at the

Courtesie

Courteſie of that King whether he ſhould ever return or no: it being a Maxime amongſt Princes, That if any one without leave ſets foot on the Ground of another, he makes himſelf his Priſoner. *Philip* the firſt of *Spain* and Duke of *Burgundy*, being caſt by Tempeſt on the Coaſt of *England*, was here detained by King *Henry* the ſeventh, till he had delivered up the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had fled for Refuge to his Court: and *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, being forced by her Rebellious Subjects to flie into this Realm, was preſently ſeized on as a Priſoner, and ſo continued till her lamentable and calamitous death. So in like manner *Richard* the firſt of *England*, paſſing in diſguiſe through ſome part of the Dominions of the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, was by him took Priſoner, and put unto an heavy Ranſom; and not long ſince *Charles Lodowick* the now Prince Elector *Palatine* poſting through *France*, in hope to get the Command of Duke *Bernards* Army, was ſtaied in the middle of his journey by the Kings command, and kept ſo long under Reſtraint, that he loſt the opportunity of effecting his purpoſe.

This though it was the generall Fear and Apprehenſion of the *Engliſh* Subjects, yet no body durſt acquaint the King with it but *Archee* the *fool*, who going boldly to the King, as he found him once in a good humour, told him that he was come to change Caps with him. Why, ſaid the King? Marry, ſaies *Archee*, becauſe thou haſt ſent the Prince into *Spain*, from whence he is never like to return. But ſaid the King, what wilt thou ſay when thou ſeeſt him come back

again? Marry, saies *Archee*, I will then take off the fools Cap which I put upon thy head, for sending him thither, and put it on the King of *Spains*, for letting him return. At which words, it is reported, that the King became exceeding pensive, never before so much apprehending the Danger of that Adventure, as then and afterwards he did.

1623. But the generous *Spaniard* intended to make no such Market of him, but gave him all the Royall entertainment which a Princely Suitor might expect. Nor was the Prince wanting for his part in all fit Compliances by which he might both gaine on them, and preserve himself. For by his Courtly Garb he won so much on the Affections of the *Infanta*, and by his grave and circumspect behaviour got so much ground upon the King and his Councel, that the match went forward in good earnest. The Articles of the Marriage with all the Circumstances thereof were agreed upon, and solemnly sworn to by both Kings. Nor was the Pope wanting in the grant of a dispensation (without which nothing could be done) writing a Letter to the Prince, who returned to him a Civil Answer, which afterwards was reckoned amongst his Crimes, by such as rather would not then did not know the necessity which lay upon him, of keeping at that time a plausible Correspondencce with the Catholick party.

But as for his Religion, the change whereof was moved by the Pope, and much hoped for by the Court of *Spain* at his first coming thither, he shewed so many strong evidences of his constancy in it, that those hopes soon vanished. And

that

that it might appeare, that he profeſſed no other Religion, then what was agreeable to the Rules of Antiquity, and not much abhorrent from the forms then uſed in the Church of *Rome*, the *Engliſh* Liturgie was by the care of the Lord Keeper *Williams* tranſlated into the *Spaniſh* Tongue; and ſo many Copies of the Book then printed ſent into *Spain*, as gave great ſatisfaction in that point to the Court and Clergy. And this I muſt needs ſay was very ſeaſonably done, the *Spaniards* being till then perſwaded by their *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, that when the *Engliſh* had caſt off the *Pope*, they had caſt off alſo all Religion, and became meer *Atheiſts*; the name of God being never uſed amongſt them, but with a purpoſe to expoſe it unto ſcorn and prophanation. Inſomuch that the "Conſtable of *Caſtile*, being ſent "to ſweare the Peace concluded with *Spain*, "when he underſtood the buſineſſe was to be "performed in the *Chappel*, where ſome *An-* "*thems* were to be ſung, deſired *that whatſoever* "*was ſung, Gods name might not be uſed in it, and* "*that being forborn, he was content they ſhould* "*ſing what they liſted*. King *James* himſelf ſo relates the ſtory in Arch-Biſhop *Spotswood*, *fol.* 530.

But the Prince had another game to play, namely the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*; which the *Spaniard* would not ſuffer to be brought under the Treaty, reſerving it (as they pretended) to be beſtowed by the *Infanta* after the Marriage, the better to ingratiate her ſelf with the *Engliſh* Nation. Which being a point of too great moment to depend upon no other aſſurance then a Court-

Complement, he concluded with himself that since he could not prevaile in the one, he would not proceed unto the Consummation of the other. And hereunto he was much edged on by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who having conceived some deep displeasure against the *Conde de Olivarez*, the speciall Favourite of that K. desired rather that all Treaties should be broken off, then that any Alliance should be made in which that *Conde* had appeared so instrumental. But it did concern the Prince so to provide for his own safety, that no intimation might be made of the intended Rupture, till he had unwinded himself out of that *Labyrinth* into which he was cast. For which cause having desired of his Father that some ships might be sent to bring him home, he shewed himself a more passionate Lover then ever formerly, and made a *Proxie* to the Catholick King and Don *Charles* his Brother, in his name to espouse the Lady *Infanta*; which *Proxie* he left with *Digby*, not long before made Earl of *Bristol*, by him to be delivered within some few daies after the coming of the expected dispensation.

But no sooner had he took his leave, and was out of danger, but he dispatcht a Post unto him, commanding him not to deliver up the *Proxie* untill further order. And having so done, he hoist'd Sails, and came for *England*, arriving at *Portsmouth* on Sunday the fifth of *October*, *Anno* 1623. From whence by Post-Horses he past to *London*, the next morning, and so by Coach to the King at *Royston*, to the great content of all the Kingdom, declared by Bells, Bonfires,

fires, and all other the accuſtomed expreſſions of a publick joy.

The King being made acquainted with all particulars, and that no Aſſurance could be had of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, by the advice of his Privy Council, diſpatcht a command to the Earl of *Briſtol*, not to deliver up the Proxie unleſſe the buſineſſe of the *Palatinate* were concluded alſo. The expectation whereof not being anſwered by Succeſſe, a Parliament is ſummond, to begin on the ſixteenth day of *February* then next following, to the end that all things might be governed in this great Affair by the publick Counſel of the Kingdom. Not long after the beginning whereof, the Duke declared before both Houſes (more to the diſadvantage of the *Spaniard* then there was juſt ground for) how unhandſomely they had dealt with the Prince, when he was in *Spain*; how they had fed him with delaies; what indignities they had put upon him, and finally had ſent him back not onely without the *Palatinate*, but without a Wife; leaving it to their prudent Conſideration what courſe to follow.

It was thereupon voted by both Houſes, that his Majeſty ſhould be deſired to break off all Treaties with the King of *Spain*, and to engage himſelf in a war againſt him for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, not otherwiſe to be obtained. And that they might come the better to the end they aimed at, they addreſſe themſelves unto the Prince, whom they aſſured, that they would ſtand to him in that War to the very laſt expence of their lives and fortunes; and he accordingly

dingly being further ſet on by the Duke, became their inſtrument to perſwade his Father to hearken to the Common Votes and deſires of his Subjects, which the King, preſt by their continual importunities, did at laſt aſſent to.

But in the conduct of this Buſineſſe, the Prince conſulted more the Dukes paſſion, and the pleaſing of the Commons in Parliament, then either his own or the Regal intereſſe. For there is nothing more unſafe for a King of *England*, then to caſt himſelf upon the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, and depending on the purſe of the Subject. By meanes whereof, he makes himſelf obnoxious to the Humour of any prevailing Member in the Houſe of Commons, and becomes leſſe in Reputation both at home and abroad. The Commons, ſince the time of King *James*, have ſeldom parted with a peny, but they have paid themſelves well for it out of the Prerogative. And this appeared by their proceedings in this very Parliament: For though they had ingaged the King in a War with *Spain*, and granted him three *Subſidies*, and three *Fifteens* toward the beginning of that War; yet would they not ſuffer that grant to paſſe into an Act of Parliament, till the King had yielded to another againſt *Concealements*. Inſomuch as it was affirmed by Juſtice *Dodridge*, at the next Publick Aſſizes held in *Oxford*, that the King by paſſing of that Act, had bought thoſe *Subſidies* and *Fifteens* at ten yeares purchaſe. Nor dealt they otherwiſe with this Prince then they did with his Father thoſe very Commons who had ingaged him in the War, and bound themſelves to make

good

good that ingagement with their lives and fortunes, moſt ſhamefully deſerting him in the firſt Parliament of his Reign, and after working more and more upon his neceſſities, till they had robbed him of the richeſt Jewels in the Regal Diadem.

But to proceed, the Treaty with *Spain* being like to come to a Rupture, it was judged neceſſary to counterballance the Power of that King by negotiating a Match with the Princeſſe *Henrietta Maria*, the youngeſt Daugher of *France*; firſt ſet on foot by the Mediation of the Earl of *Holland*, who found that Court inclinable thereunto, and afterwards concluded at the coming over of the Earl of *Carlile*, joyned in Commiſſion to that purpoſe. It was reported, that when ſhe was told, that the Prince of *Wales* had been at the Court, and was gone for *Spain*; ſhe Anſwered, that *if he went to* Spain *for a Wife, he might have had one neerer hand, and ſaved himſelf a great part of the trouble.* And I have read, that receiving at one time two Letters from *England*, the one from King *James*, and the other from the Prince, ſhe put that from King *James* into her Cabinet, and that from Prince *Charles* into her Boſom. Of which King *James* being told, he was exceedingly pleaſed with it, ſaying, that he took it for a very good Omen, that ſhe ſhould preſerve his Name in her Memory, and lodge *Charles* in her Heart. 1624.

During theſe preparations for War and Marriage, King *James* departed this life at *Theobalds* on Sunday the twenty ſeventh of *March*, *Anno* 1625. Immediately upon whoſe death Prince *Charles*, 1625.

Charles was proclaimed at the Court-Gate to be King of great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. The like done presently after at *London*, and by degrees in all the other Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, with infinite rejoycings and Acclamations of the People. The Funeralls of the deceased King were celebrated on the seventh of *May*, his body being brought from *Somerset-House* with great Magnificence to Saint *Peters* Church in *Westminster* (where he was interred) the King himself being principall Mourner. Which though it were contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to expresse his Piety in attending the dead body of his Father to the Funerall Pile, then to stand upon any such old Nicities and points of State.

The Funerall being past, he thought it was time for him to quicken the coming over of his dearest Consort, to whom he had been married on the Sunday before at the Church of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*; the Duke of *Chevereux* a Prince of the House of *Guise* (from which House King *Charles* derived himself by the Lady *Mary* of *Lorain* Wife to *James* the fifth) espousing the Princesse in his Name. On *Trinity Sunday*, late at night, she was brought by a Royall Fleet of Ships from *Bulloign* to *Dover*, which being signified to the King who was then at *Canterbury*, he went to her betimes the next morning, and received her with great expressions of Affection, professing, that he would be no longer Master of himself, then whilest he was a Servant to her. The same day he brought her to *Canterbury*, where he gave himself up to those

Embraces,

Embraces, to which from that time he confined himself with such a Conjugal Chastity, that on the day before his death he commanded his Daughter the Princesse *Elizabeth* to tell her Mother, *that his thoughts had never straied from her, and that his love should be the same to the last.* And on the Thursday after being the sixteenth of *June*, they came from *Gravesend* to *White-Hall* in their Royall Barges, attended with an infinite number of Lords, Ladies, and other people who could get Boats to wait upon them; the Ordnance from the Ships which were then preparing for the Warrs, those from the Merchants Ships, and the *Tower* of *London*, thundering her Welcome as She past.

But in the heat of these Solemnities and Entertainments, the King forgat not the main Concernments of himself and the Kingdom, and to that end began his first Parliament on Saturday the eighteenth of *June*, which fell out not unseasonably, that the *French* Lords might see with what Royall Magnificence he was attended by the Peers, Prelates, and other Officers of State, (besides his own Domestick Servants) to the Parliament-House. At their first meeting, he put them in mind of the War in which they had ingaged his Father, and of the promise they had made to stand to him in it with their lives and fortunes; that both his Land and Sea-Forces were now in readinesse to set forwards, and that there wanted nothing but a present supply of money to quicken and expedite the Affair. In Answer whereunto, the Commons past a Bill of two Subsidies onely, so short of the excessive

Charge

Charge which the Maintenance of so great a Fleet and Army required at their hands, that being distributed amongst the Officers, Souldiers, and Mariners, it would scarce have served for *Advance-money* to send them going. Which notwithstanding, the King very graciously accepted of it, taking it as an *Earnest* of their good Affections, in reference to the greater Summes which were to follow.

But the Plague growing hot in *London*, the Parliament on the eleventh day of *July*, was adjourned to *Oxford*, there to be held on the first of *August*, at what time the King put them in mind again of the necessity of setting forward his Fleet, and that the eyes of his Confederates were fixt upon it. But the Commons had *other fish to frie*, and began to quarrel at the greatnesse of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom in the last Parliament of King *James* they had idolized above all men living. But he had served their turn already, and now they meant to serve their own. This was the first Assault which the Commons made upon this King, though not directly on his Person, wounding him thorow the sides of his principal Minister; they were so well verst in the Arts of a Parliament-War, as to take in the Outworks first, that so the *Fort* it self might lie the more open to continuall Batteries. Concerning which, and the sad consequents thereof, take here the words of a Letter written to the King from an unknown Person.

"These men, saith he, either cannot or will "not remember, that never any Noble man in "favour with his Soveraign, was questioned in

„ Par-

" Parliament, except by the King himself in case
" of Treason, or unlesse it were in the Nonage
" and tumultuous time of *Richard* the 2. *Henry*
" the 6. or *Edward* the 6. which hapned to the
" destruction both of the King and Kingdom.
" And that, not to exceed our own and Fathers
" Memories, in King *Henry* the 8. time, *Wolsies*
" exorbitant power and pride, and *Cromwels*
" contempt of the Nobility and the Lawes, were
" not yet permitted to be discussed in Parlia-
" ment, though they were most odious and grie-
" vous to all the Kingdom. And that *Leice-*
" *sters* undeserved favour, and faults; *Hattons*
" insufficiency, and *Rawleigh's* insolence far ex-
" ceeded what yet hath been (though most fal-
" sly) objected against the Duke; yet no Law-
" yer durst abet, nor any man else begin any in-
" vectives against them in Parliament. And then
" he addes (some other passages intervening)
" that it behoves his Majesty to uphold the
" Duke against them, who if he be but decour-
" ted, it will be the Corner-stone on which the
" demolishing of his Monarchy will be builded.
" For if they prevaile with this, they have hatch-
" ed a thousand other Demands to pul the fea-
" thers of the Royalty, they will appoint him
" Counsellors, Servants, Alliances, Limits of his
" Expences, Accompts of his Revenue, chiefly
" if they can (as they mainly desire) they will
" now dazle him in the beginning of his Reign.

How true a Prophet this man proved, the event hath shewn, and the King saw it well enough, and therefore since he could not divert them from that pursuit, he dissolved the Parliament,

ment, by whose neglect (I will not call it a perverseneſſe) the Fleet went out lare, and returned unproſperouſly. In which conjuncture if he had clapt up a Peace with *Spain*, (which the *Spaniards* had as much reaſon to accept as he to offer) he might have prevented the following Rupture betwixt him and *France*, and freed himſelf from the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, till he had no neceſſity for a Parliament to work upon, and then he might have found them as pliant to him as he could reaſonably require. But he reſolves to try his fortune in another as ſoon as he had performed the ſolemnities of his Coronation, which was celebrated on the ſecond of *February*, (commonly called *Candlemas* Day) then next enſuing. In the external Pomp whereof, he omitted his triumphant riding thorow the City from the *Tower* to *White-Hall*, the Charge whereof would have ſtood him in ſixty thouſand pounds, as ſome compute it; and he had then more neceſſary occaſions to expend his Money, then Money to anſwer thoſe occaſions. In the ſacred part of it, there was nothing altered, but the adding of a clauſe to one of the Prayers which had been pretermitted ſince the time of King *Henry* the ſixth, and is this that followeth, viz. *Let him obtain favour for the People, like* Aaron *in the Tabernacle*, Eliſha *in the Waters*, Zacharias *in the Temple*; *give him* Peters *Key of Diſcipline*, Pauls *Doctrine*. Which clauſe had been omitted in times of Popery, as intimating more Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction to be given to our Kings then the Popes allowed of; and for the ſame reaſon was now quarrel'd by the *Puritan* Faction. As

for

for the Coronation-oath, it was the ſame which had been taken by his Predeceſſors, as appears by the Records of *Exchequer*; Nor made more advantageous to the King, and leſſe beneficial to the People by the late Archbiſhop, though both the long Parliament in the year 1642. and the lewd Pamphlets of that time did object the contrary.

The *Coronation* being paſſed over, he began his ſecond Parliament on the ſixth of the ſame moneth, in which he ſped no better then he did in his firſt. The Commons voted ſome Subſidies to be granted to him, but they never paſt them into Act, that bait being onely laid before him to rempt him to give over the Duke to their pride and fury, againſt whom they had fram'd a large impeachment uſhered in by Sir *Dudly Diggs*, proſecuted with ſix bitter invectives, made by by the beſt Speakers and moſt learned Lawyers of that Houſe, and finally concluded by Sir *John Eliot*, who brought up the Rear. But the King 1626.
eaſily perceived that his Royal Father and himſelf were as much concerned in it as the Duke, their favours being made his crimes, and their authority in beſtowing Offices and Honours on whom they pleaſed, not obſcurely queſtioned. But the ſtorm went higher then the Duke, ſome part of it falling down-right on the King himſelf; it being openly affirmed in the Houſe of Commons by one Mr. *Coke* (a true chip of the old block) *that it was as good to die by a forraign Enemies as to be deſtroyed at home.* Of this reproch, tending ſo much to the diſhonour of his Government, he complained in a Speech before both

both Houſes, but without any remedy. And being further incenſed by the noiſe of a Declaration which they had then upon the Anvil, he diſſolved the Parliament on the eighteenth day of *June* then following.

No ſooner was he freed from this, but the Neceſſity of his Affairs involved him in another Embroylment. The *French* Prieſts and the Domeſticks of that Nation which came into *England* with the Queen, were grown ſo inſolent, and had put ſo many affronts upon him, that he was forced to ſend them home; in which he did no more than what the *French* King had done before him, in ſending back all the *Spaniſh* Courtiers which his Queen brought with her. But the *French* King not looking on his own example, and knowing on what ill termes the King ſtood both at home and abroad, firſt ſeized on all the Merchants Ships which lay on the River of *Burdeaux*, and then brake out into open war. So that the King was fain to make uſe of thoſe Forces againſt the *French*, which were deſigned to have been uſed againſt the *Spaniard*, and to comply with the deſires of the *Rochellers*, who humbly ſued for his protection and Defence. But the Fleet not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater oppoſition at the Sea than they feared from the Land; being encountred with ſtrong Tempeſts, and thereby neceſſitated to return without doing any thing, but onely ſhewing the Kings good-will and readineſſe toward their aſſiſtance.

But the next yeare this deſign was followed with greater vigour by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who

who hoped thereby to make himself of some con- 1627.
sideration in the eyes of the people. The gaining of the Isle of *Re*, which lay before the Town of *Rochell*, and imbarr'd their Trade, was the matter aimed at; and he had strength enough both for Sea and Land to have done the work, if he had not followed it more like a Courtier than a Souldier; suffering himself to be complemented out of the taking of their chief Fort, when it was almost at his mercy; and standing upon points of *Honour* in facing those Forces which were sent from the *French* King to raise the siege, when he might have made a safe retreat unto his ships without losse or danger. In the mean time his Majesty neither neglected his Affaires at home nor his Friends abroad: At home he found the *Puritan* faction to be much increased by the remissnesse of the government of Arch-bishop *Abbot*, whom therefore he suspended from all his Metropoliticall Jurisdiction, and confined him to his House at *Ford* in *Kent*, committing the exercise thereof to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, *Bath* and *Wells*, by Letters Patents, bearing date the 9. day of *October*, *Anno* 1627. Abroad he found the Princes of *Germany* wormed out of their Estates, one after another, by the Emperours Forces, the King of *Denmark*, (whom they had made the Head of their League) being driven out of the Country by Count *Tilly*, and hardly able to defend his own Dominions. No Prince so fit for the prosecution of that cause, as *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, whom therefore he elects into the Noble Order of the *Garter*,

and solemnly invests him with it in the midst of his Army, then lying at the Siege of *Darsaw*, a Town of *Pomerella*, belonging to the Crown of *Poland*, on Sunday the twenty third of *October*, of the same year also. At which time he laid the grounds of that Confederacy, which being seconded by the *French*, the States of the *United Provinces*, and the distressed Princes of the Empire, brought that King into *Germany*; where he gave the first great check to the *Emperors* fortunes, and had restored the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his ancient Patrimony, if he had not fallen unfortunately at the Battel of *Lutzen*.

Being thus ingaged and embroiled, he gave a beginning to his third Parliament on the seventeenth of *March*, and freely declares to them the necessities under which he lay: in Answer whereunto the Commons voted five *Subsidies*, but meant he should pay dearly for them before he had them. Such grievances as they thought fit to insist upon, were cast into the mold of a
1628. petition, by them called a *Petition* of *Right*; which if the King granted, he must lose his prerogative; if he denied it, he must lose all hopes of their supply in his great extremities. The consideration of which last induced him to yield to their desires, and confirme that petition by Act of Parliament; the *Prerogative* never so much descending from Perch to popular Lure, as by that concession. But though this Act of grace might have given satisfaction even to supererogation (as one wel observeth) yet the Commons were not so contented, but were preparing a Remonstrance to take away his Right of To-

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nage and *Poundage*, as disclaimed by him in that Act; which coming to the Kings knowledge, on the twenty sixth of *June*, he adjourns the Parliament till the twentieth day of *October* then next ensuing.

In the mean time the Duke prepares for the relief of *Rochel*, both by Sea and Land, and being ready to set sail, was suddenly cut off at *Portsmouth* by the hand of one *John Felton*, a discontented Officer of the last years Army, alledging no other reason for that bloudy act, but that the Duke had been declared an Enemy to the Common-wealth, in a *Remonstrance* tendred to the King in the former Session. But such was the constancy of the Kings temper, and the known evenesse of his spirit, that this sad Accident made little or no stop in the proceedings of the Fleet, which at the last set forwards under the command of the Earl of *Lindsey*; who found the Haven of *Rochel* so strongly barred, that it was utterly impossible for his Ships to force their way (though it was gallantly attempted) and give relief to the besieged; who thereupon set open their Gates, and received their King into their Town without more delay.

To smooth his way to the next Session of Parliament, adjourn'd again till the twentieth of *January*, Arch-bishop *Abbot* is admitted to kisse his hand, by whom he is commanded not to fail of his attendance at the Councel table; Dr. *Barnaby Potter* (a through-pac'd Calvinian) is made Bishop of *Carliste*, and Mr. *Mountagues* book called *Appello Cæsarem* (for which he had been questioned and molested in the beginning of the Kings

first Parliament) must be suppreſt and called in by Proclamation. But this little edified with the faction in the houſe of Commons, who not onely took upon them the reforming of the Church and State, but called the *Cuſtomers* in queſtion for levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, not then granted (nor ever likely to be granted as it had been formerly) by Act of Parliament, and diſtraining ſuch Merchants goods as refuſed to pay it. And in this point they went ſo high, that fearing they ſhould be diſſolved before they had vented their own paſſions in that particular, upon the ſecond day of *March* they lockt the Doors of the Parliament-houſe, kept the key thereof in one of their pockets, and held the Speaker by ſtrong hand in his Chair, till they had thundred out their Anathema's not onely againſt ſuch as ſhould dare to levie it, but thoſe alſo who ſhould willingly pay it. The News of which riotous proceeding being brought immediately to the King, he ſent his Band of Penſioners, accompanied by his ordinary Guard, to force open the Doors, and going himſelf to the Houſe of Peers, he diſſolved the Parliament, not having continued in that Seſſion above forty dayes.

At the end of the former Seſſion he had admitted Sir *John Savill* of *York-ſhire*, a buſie man in the Houſe of *Commons*, (but otherwiſe a politique and prudent perſon) to be one of his Privy Council, created him Lord *Savill* of *Pontfract*, and made him Comptroller of his Houſhold in the place of Sir *John Suckling* deceaſed. And a little before the beginning of the following Seſſion, he took into his Council Sir *Thomas Went-*

worth

worth of *Wentworth Woodhouſe* in the ſame County, whom he created Viſcount *Wentworth*, and made Lord Preſident of the North, and within two years after Lord Deputy of *Ireland* alſo. A man he was of prodigious Parts, which he made uſe of at the firſt in favour of the Popular Faction: But being gain'd unto the King by Sir *Ri. Weſton* then Chancellour of the *Exchequer*, (afterwards Lord Treaſurer and Earl of *Portland*) he became the moſt devout friend of the *Church*, the greateſt Zelot for advancing the *Monarchicall* Intereſſe, and the ableſt Miniſter of State which our Hiſtories have afforded to us. On the judgment of theſe two his Majeſty did much rely in Civil matters, as he did on the advice of Dr. *Neile* then Biſhop of *Durham*, and Dr. *Laud* then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, in matters which concerned the Church. Theſe laſt he had called unto his Council in the beginning of *April*, 1627. and finding them to be of as great abilities to adviſe, as ſincere affections to his perſon; he advanced the firſt to the See of *Wincheſter*, and afterwards to the Arch-biſhoprick of *York*, *An.* 1631. the ſecond to the See of *London*, and from thence to *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1633.

But whileſt it was ſuch hot weather at home, 1629.
it grew cold abroad, the breach betwixt him and *France* being cloſed up at the ſame time, by the prudent and ſeaſonable intervention of the State of *Venice*. And not long after he concluded a peace alſo with the King of *Spain*, all things being left on both ſides in the ſame condition in which they were before the war, but that the *Spaniard* did ingage that he would make uſe

of all his Interest with the Emperour, for restoring the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his lost Estate.

And now the King having thrown away his Crutches (which had as often deceived him as he trusted to them) he began to stand on his own legs, and in short time became more considerable in the eyes of the world then any of his Predecessours. The *Spaniard* sent hither yearly in *English* Bottoms no lesse then six hundred thousand Crowns in Bullion, for the use of his Army in the *Netherlands*, redounding very much to the Kings benefit in the coinage, and no lesse to the profit of the Merchants also, most of the money being returned into *Flanders* in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tinne, and other the manufactures and Native Commodities of this Kingdom. The *Dutch* and *Easterlings* lookt upon *London* as the safest Bank, not onely to lodge, but increase their Treasure, so that in short time the greatest part of the Trade of Christendom was driven up the *Thames*.

1630. To make him yet more estimable in the sight of his People, God blest him with a Son, the presumptive Heir of his Dominions, on the twenty ninth of *May*, *Anno* 1630. and seconded that blessing with the birth of a Daughter on the fourth of *November*, in the next year after, as afterwards with a plentifull issue of both Sexes. Nor did he meet with any check in his Prosperity till the year 1633. at what time the Coles of

1633. *Faction* and *Sedition*, which seemed for some years to have been raked up in the ashes of contentment, kindled the next combustible matter, and brake

brake forth again to the inflaming of both Kingdoms. *Scotland* burneth first, and takes fire on this occasion.

In the minority of King *James*, the Lands of all Cathedral Churches and Religious Houses which had been setled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shar'd amongst the Lords and great men of that Kingdome, (by the connivence of the Earl of *Murray*, and some other of the Regents) to make them sure unto the side. And they being thus possessed of the said Lands, with the Regalities and Tithes belonging to those Ecclesiastical Corporations, Lorded it with pride and insolence enough in their severall Territories, holding the Clergie to small stipends, and the poor Paisant under a miserable vassalage and subjection to them. King *Charles* ingag'd in War at his first comming to the Crown, and having little aid from thence for the maintenance of it, by the advice of his Council of that Kingdome, was put upon a course of resuming those Lands, Tithes & Regalities into his own hands, to which the present Occupants could pretend no other Title then the unjust usurpation of their Ancestors. This he endeavoured, first by an Act of *Revocation*, but that course not being like to speed, he followed it in the way of a legal processe, which drew on the Commission for *surrendring* of *Superiorities* and *Tithes*, to be retaken from the King on such conditions, as might bring some profit to the Crown, some Augmentation to the Clergy, and far more ease and benefit to the common people. But these proud *Scots* chuse rather to expose their Country to the danger of a

publick Ruine, then to part with any of that power (it might be called a Tyranny rather) which they had exercised on their *Vassals*, as they commonly called them; and thereupon conspir'd together to oppose the King in any thing that should be offered in the following Parliament, which had relation to the Church or to Church-affaires.

But because Religion and the care thereof, is commonly the best bait to catch the vulgar, they must find out some other meanes to divert the King from the prosecuting of that *Commission*, then the consideration of their own personal and private interesse; and they found means to do it on another occasion, which was briefly this.

King *James* from his first coming to this Crown, had a design to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an uniformity with the Church of *England*, both in government and forms of worship. And he proceeded so far as to settle *Episcopacy* amongst them, naming thirteen new Bishops for so many Episcopal Sees as had been anciently in that Church; three of which received Consecration from the Bishops of *England*, and conferred it on the rest of their Brethren at their coming home. Which Bishops he armed also with the power of an *High Commission*, the better to keep down the insolent and domineering Spirit of the *Presbyterians*. In order to the other, he procured an Act to be passed in the Assembly at *Aberdin*, *Anno* 1616. for composing a *Liturgy*, and extracting a new Book of Canons out of the scattered Acts of their old *Assemblies*. At the Assembly held

held at *Perth anno* 1618. he obtained an Order for receiving the *Communion* kneeling, for administring Baptisme of the Lords Supper in private Houses, in cases of extreme necessity, for Episcopall Confirmation; and finally, for the celebrating the Anniversaries of our Saviours Birth, his Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, and the coming down of the holy Ghost. All which he got to be confirmed in the following Parliament.

So far that wise King had advanced the work of Uniformity, before his engaging in the Cause of the *Palatinate*; his Breach with *Spain*, and the War which did issue upon it took off his thoughts from prosecuting that design, which his son, being more intangled in Wars abroad and Distempers at home, had no time to finish till he had setled his Affaires, and attained to some measure both of Power and Glory. But being it was a businesse which was to be acted leisurely and by degrees, not all at once, he first resolved upon passing of an Act of *Ratification* of all that had been done by his Father, and then to go in hand with the introducing of a publick *Liturgy*. In the effecting whereof, at such time as he went into *Scotland* to recive that unfortunate Crown, he found a stronger opposition in the Parliament of that Kingdome also, about the passing of that Act of *Ratification*, than he had reason to expect: But carried it at last by a far major part of that Assembly.

This gave him the first taste of their disaffection to his Person and Government; but he went forward notwithstanding in pursuit of those purposes,

poses which he brought thither with him. For not long after his return into *England*, he gave order to the Dean of his Chappell Royall in *Edenburgh*, that Prayers be read therein according to the English Liturgie; that a Communion be had every moneth, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament on their knees; that he who officiated, if he be a Bishop, perform it in his Rochet and other Episcopall Robes; and that he do it in his Surplice, if a common Presbyter; and finally, that not onely the Lords of the Council, but the Lords of the Session, and as many of the principal Magistrats of that city also as could conveniently, faile not of their attending the Divine Service there on Sundayes and Holydayes: For by this means he gave himself no improbable hopes, that the English Liturgy passing a probationership in the Chappel Royall, might find a plausible entertainment in the Churches of *Edenburgh*, and be received by degrees in all the rest of the Kingdome.

But the *Presbyterian Scots* not ignorant of the Kings intentions, insinuated into the minds of the common people, that this was a design onely to subject that pure Kirk to the superstitious Rites and Ceremonies of the *Church of England*, and therefore that it did behove them to stand together as one man to oppose their entrance. The Lords and Gentry of that Realm, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of *Surrendries* before mentioned, laid hold on this occasion also: And they being seconded by some male-contented spirits of that Nation, who had not found the K. to be as prodigall of his favours

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to them as his Father had been before, endeavoured to possesse them with *Feares* and *Jealousies*, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was. The like done also by some Lords of Secret Council, who before had governed as they listed, and thought their power diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them to direct in chief. So that the people generally being fooled into this opinion, that both their *Christian* and *Civil* Liberty were in no small danger, became capable of any impression which the *Presbyterian* Faction could imprint upon them. Which visibly appeared by a virulent and seditious Libel, published in the year 1634. wherein the King was not onely charged with altering the Government of that kingdome, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the religion of the Ch. of *Rome*. The chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the L. *Balmerino*, for which he was legally convicted and condemned of reason, but pardoned by the Kings great goodnesse, and by that pardon kept alive for the mischiefs following.

The fire thus breaking out in *Scotland*, it was no marvel if it had laid hold on *England* also, the Puritans of both Nations working themselves about this time into a Body, and from henceforth communicating their Counsels and designs unto one another. The King not long after his return thought fit to renew his Fathers Declaration about *lawfull sports* on the *Lords day*: The principall motives whereunto were, the increase of

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Popery in ſome parts of the kingdome, occaſioned by interdicting all honeſt Recreations on that day, and the reſt of the Holy-dayes; the tendency of the Sabbatarian Doctrine to down-right *Judaiſme*; ſome orders made by ſome publick Miniſters of Juſtice, for ſuppreſsing the Annuall Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called *Wakes*; and finally, the bringing of Dancing, Running, Shooting, and other harmleſſe Recreations, within the compaſſe of the Statute made in the firſt Parliament of his Reign *againſt all unlawfull exerciſes and paſtimes*; in wch no ſuch thing was ever intended. And though the Kings intention in it was onely to eaſe the people from that yoke of ſuperſtition which many of their Preachers had laid upon them; yet by the practiſe of thoſe Preachers, it made more noiſe among the People, and wakened more to appeare in defence of that which they call Religion, than all the Geeſe in the *Capitol*.

Nor did his Majeſty ſpeed much better in another of his pious intentions, concerning the conformity of Parochiall Churches to their Mother *Cathedrals*. The *Dean* and *Chapter* of S. *Pauls* (as *Ordinaries* of the place) had appointed the Communion-Table to be placed Altar-wiſe at the end of the Chancel, where it had ſtood (and by her injunctions ought to ſtand) in Queen *Elizabeths* time. Againſt this ſome of the pariſhioners appealed to the *Dean of the Arches*, and the *Dean* and *Chapter* to the King. The cauſe being heard before his Majeſty and the Lords of the Council on the third of *Novemb.* *anno* 1623. it pleaſed his Majeſty, having firſt

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ſhewed his diſlike of all Innovations, to declare that he well approved and confirmed the Act "of the ſaid *Ordinary*, and alſo gave commandement, that if thoſe few pariſhioners before "mentioned, do proceed in their ſaid Appeal, "then the *Dean of the Arches* (who was then attending at the hearing of the cauſe) ſhall confirm the ſaid Order of the aforeſaid *Dean* and "*Chapter*. On this encouragement the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* in his Metropoliticall Viſitation, beginning in the year next following, and the Suffragan Biſhops in their ſeverall and reſpective Dioceſſes, did appoint the like, for the avoiding of thoſe frequent inconveniences and prophanations which that ſacred table had formerly been expoſed unto. This made the *Puritan* Faction open wider then before they did, as fooliſhly afraid of the breaking in of *Superſtition*, by this laſt Declaration, as of *Prophaneneſſe* by the other. And that they might keep pace with the *Scots* in all particulars, they diſperſed many ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels againſt the Governours of the Church, and all that acted by and under their Authority, not ſparing the King himſelf if he came in their way; moſt certain tokens and prognoſticks of thoſe great Combuſtions which ſoon after followed in both Kingdoms.

Nor were there any leſſe Apprehenſions infuſed into them by ſome zealous Patriots, who moſt ambitiouſly affected the Title of φιλανθρωποι καὶ φιλοπόλεις, in the Orators language, the profeſt Champions of the *Property* and *Liberty* of the *Engliſh Nation*; the occaſion this: The 1634.

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Soveraignty of the narrow Seas, had not onely been invaded by the *Hollanders* during his late troubles both at home and abroad; but that invasion had been justified in some publick writings. And thereupon, by the Advice of Mr. *Noy* his Attorney Generall, he issued certain writs in the tenth year of his Reign, *Anno* 1634. directed to all the Port Towns of the Kingdom, to set out a certain number of Ships furnisht with Mariners, Amunition, Victuals, and all other necessaries, for defence of the Realm; which Writs he afterwards extended also to the inland Countries, following therein the examples of his Predecessors, with which none was better able to instruct him, then he that gave him that Advice. By meanes whereof he did not onely recover that Dominion which belonged to him on the Sea, but very much improved and enricht the Land, as before is said. Which notwithstanding, some of the discontented members of the former Parliament, and others of the same party, under colour of standing in defence of the Rights and Properties of the Subject, did stubbornly oppose the payment of that imposition, in which the Honour, Wealth, and Happinesse of this Kingdome was so much concerned. And though the King had the opinion of all the Judges under their hands, to justify his proceedings in it; yet chose he rather to proceed against them in a legal way, then to make use of any arbitrary power, or the opinion of Judges, which extrajudicially had been given in the case. And so well did he prosper in it, that when it came to be argued in the Exchecquer-chamber, of the

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twelve Judges, ten absolutely declared themselves for the lawfulnesse of it; the other two (being *Crook* and *Hutton*) dissenting openly from that Union, to which they had formerly subscribed. So that here being a mixture also both of *Christian* and *Civil* Liberties, which were given out to be in danger; it is no marvel if the Faction in both Nations did conspire together, to disturb the peace and happinesse of this flourishing kingdome.

The ground thus laid, it was thought fit the first part of the Tragedy should be plaid in *Scotland*. The Bishops of that Church, though they liked well enough of the *English* Liturgy, desired a Liturgy of their own, for fear of acknowledging some dependency of that Church on this; which being composed amongst themselves, and approved by some of the *English* Prelates, to whom his Majesty had referred the perusal of it, was recommended to the *Scots* for the use of that Church, and the twenty third day of *July*, *Anno* 1637 appointed for the first exercise & reading of it: on this occasion followed the sedition at *Edenb.* encouraged under-hand by the Marquesse of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Roxborow* and *Traquair*, and many other of the Kings false servants, both in Court and Councel. This sedition afterwards brake out into open Action, the principall Sticklers against the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Kings proceedings in the same, engaging the whole Nation in a solemne Covenant for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, and whatsoever they were pleased to comprehend under the generall Names of *Heresie* and *Superstition*, in which not 1637.

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onely the five Articles of *Perth*, but the whole Common-Prayer-Book was intended by them. And that they might be sure to keep their party together, they bound themselves in the said Covenant, to stand to one another in pursuance and defence thereof, against all manner of persons whatsoever, the King himself not being excepted. And though the King, by the perswasion of *Hamilton* here, and his untrusty servants there, gave order for the suppressing of that *Liturgy*, the High Commission, the book of Canons, and even the Articles of *Perth*, though confirmed in Parliament, yet nothing could content their pride and insolency, but the utter abolition of Episcopal government: which since they found the King resolv'd not to yield unto, they were resolv'd to doe it without him; in their Assembly held at *Glasco*, abolishing the Episcopal Order, and thunderings their *Anathema's* and excommunications, not onely against the Bishops themselves, but all such as adhered unto them. And that they might be before-hand with him, they intercepted his Revenues, surprized all his Forts and Castles, and finally put themselves into open Armes. This forc'd the King to set forth against them, accompanied with an Ar-
1639 my Royall, and furnished with such a gallant Company of Lords and Gentlemen, as might assure him of a cheap and easie victory. But he conceiving that the terrour of his comming would reduce the *Scots* to obedience without blows or bloudshed, resolved in himself *not to outgoe Muster and Ostentation*; and thereupon was very easily intreated to refer all Differences between them,

them, to certain Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms. By their negotiation a generall Accord was made at *Berwick* on the ſeventeenth of *June Anno* 1639. upon which the King preſently disbanded his Forces, and returned towards *London*, having effected nothing by his chargeable expedition, but his making the *Scots* more inſolent then before they were, and giving them a greater Reputation in the eye of the world, then before they had; of which he became aſſuredand ſenſible when it was too late.

For no ſooner had he disbanded his Army, but the *Pacification* (ſuch as it was) was openly proteſted againſt in the *Scots* Army; and many falſe copies of it were ſcattered abroad, to make it more diſhonourable to the King, and of more advantage to themſelves. The Officers of their Army were retained in pay, the old forme of holding Parliaments in that Kingdom was altered by them, and the prerogatives of the Crown invaded; their words and actions tending to a more generall Defection then before. So that the King was fain to call home his Sheat-Anchor the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whom not long after he created Earl of *Strafford*, in the County of *York*. By whoſe advice, ſeconded by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, his Majeſty about the beginning of December gave a publick intimation of a Parliament, to begin on the thirteenth day of *Aprill* then next following. And it was intimated ſo long before-hand for theſe two reaſons. Firſt, that the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did, and managed ſo much to the

Kings advantage, that an Army of 8000 Horſe and Foot was ſpeedily raiſed, and money granted by the Parliament to keep them in pay, and furniſh them with Ammunition, Armes, and all other neceſſaries. Secondly, that by the Reputation of a following Parliament, he might be the better enabled to borrow mony for the carrying on of the war, in caſe the Parliament ſhould faile him, as it after did. For being come together at the time appointed, inſtead of Acting any thing in order to his Majeſties ſervice, they were at the point of paſſing a *Vote* for blaſting his war againſt the *Scots*. To prevent which his Majeſty was forced to diſſolve them on the fifth of *May*, the *Convocation* ſtill continuing, who granted him a Benevolence of four ſhillngs in the pound for all their Eccleſiaſticall promotions, to be paid ſix yeares together then next enſuing. The Members of the diſſolved Parliament inflamed the people in all parts of the Kingdom with high diſcontentments, which actually brake out in *Southwark*, into open ſedition, not pacified without much danger, and the executing of the principal Leader. In the middle of which Diſtempers his Majeſty was bleſt with a third Son, born on the eighth of *July*, Chriſtned by the name of *Henry*, and by his Majeſties command called Duke of *Glocester*.

1640. To welcome this young Prince into the world, the *Scots* put themſelves into Armes again, and backt by a ſtrong faction here, thought that they could not doe enough by ſtanding on their defence at home, unleſſe they entred *Engl.* alſo, as they did accordingly. But they took

took not his Majesty unprovided, who had raiſ'd another gallant Army under the command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, as chief General, and the Earl of *Strafford* as the chiief Commander under him; himself with all speed posting towards the *North*, as soon as the News of this invasion had been brought unto him. But scarce was he well setled in the head of his Army, but he was followed by a Petition from some Lords of *England*, conformable in the main points of it to a Declaration of the *Scots*, which they called *the Intention of the Army*. So that the Cloud which gathered behind him in the *South*, threatned more danger to him then the *Northern* Tempest, which blew directly in his teeth. Sailing thus between *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, it concerned him to steer as even a course as he could, and thereupon he summoned the great Councell of his Peers to attend him at *York*, that doing nothing in this great businesse without their advice, he might give himself the better hopes of their assistance, as his occasions should require. By their advice Commissioners are appointed to treat with the *Scots*, to understand their Grievances, the reasonableness or unreasonableness of their Demands, and finally to make up the breach by such an Accommodation as might conduce to the peace and happiness of both Kingdoms, & his Maj. honour.

In the mean time he calls a Parliament, to begin at *Westminster* the third day of *November* then next following, which if it had been held at *York*, as lying neerest to the danger and Scene of action, might not have proved so fatall and destructive to him as it after did. In the beginning

of this Parliament, he cast himself on the love and loyalty of his *English* Subjects, in which he found himself deceived of his expectation. For the first thing they did, was to deprive him of the Counsels of the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and thereby to terrifie all others from adhering to him in the times of his greatest need. These they impeacht of High Treason, removed them from the House of Peers, & committed them to the *Tower* of *London*, where the Arch-bishop staid four years before any particular charge, or any prosecution upon that charge, was brought against him. But with the Lord *Lieutenant* of *Ireland* they made quicker work, inviting the People of all the three Kingdoms to bring them in such matter as they had or could devise against him; and having made all things ready for a publick Tryal, they brought him to the Bar before the Peers, sitting in *Westminster-Hall* on the sixth of *April* then next following; but he so rationally pleaded in his own behalf, and so fully satisfied all objections which were made against him, that the Commons were fain to desist from the Course which they had begun, and to proceed against him by a Bill of *Attainder*. For the better passing whereof the Commons framed a *Protestation* on the third of *May*, in many things not unlike the *Scotish Covenant* before mentioned, by which they bound themselves among other things, *to maintain and defend the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subject, to endeavour to bring to condign punishment all such as shall either by Force, Practice, Plots, Counsels and*

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Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, do any thing to the contrary; (amongſt which they reckon the Earl of *Strafford* to be one) *and finally to ſtand unto one another, and to every other perſon whatſoever in any thing he ſhall do in purſuance of the ſaid Proteſtation.* Which Proteſtation being firſt taken by themſelves, was the next day taken alſo by the Houſe of Peers, and not long after obtruded on all the reſt of the Kingdom. But not finding this ſufficient to effect their purpoſe, they firſt forced the Lords by Tumults, and afterwards the King by their importunities to paſſe that unhappy Bill of *Attainder*; which having obtained, they brought him to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill on the thirteenth of *May*, where with as much Chriſtian confidence and magnanimity as could be expreſt by fleſh and blood, he delivered up his neck to the Executioner.

In order to this great work which they knew the *Scots* much laboured for, and had declared ſo much in a Pamphlet called *The intentions of the Army*, at their firſt coming into *England*, the leading men in the houſe of Commons held a ſtrict correſpondency with the *Scots* Commiſſioners then reſiding in *London*, & voted no leſs then three hundred thouſand pounds (by the name of a *brotherly Aſſiſtance*) to be given to the *Scots* in generall, under colour of repairing ſuch damages as they had ſuſtained in the time of this breach, but in plain truth to bind them faſt unto themſelves. And having made ſurework with them, they deprived the King by little and little of almoſt all the ancient and undoubted prerogatives which of right belonged unto his

Crown. The power of calling Parliaments, in case of his neglect or refusal, is put into the hands of Sheriffs and Constables; his right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage* must be disclaimed by Act of Parliament; the *Bill* of the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, and that for the continuance of this Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses, are extorted by tumults. And by the terrour of the like, the Act for *Knight-hood* is repealed, and the imposition for ship-mony condemned as an illegall Tax, and abolished also. The like Acts passed against the office of the Clerk of the Market, the Court of *Stanneries*, his propriety in the making of Gun-powder, the authority of the *Council-Table*, the Courts of *Star-chamber* and *High Commission*, the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiasticall Courts, as also the Presidiall Courts held for a long time in *York* and the Marches of *Wales*. And finally, that he might lose both his strength in Parliament and his power with the People, they extorted the passing of two Acts, the one for taking away the Bishops Votes and place in the House of Peers, the other for disclaiming of his power in pressing Souldiers (enjoyed by all his Predecessors) for defence of his Person and the Realm. And that they might the better awe the King to these Concessions, the Army of the *Scots* must be maintained with pay & plunder, til there was almost nothing left considerable for them to crave, or the K. to grant. But being at the last sent home, his Majesty followed not long after, to settle his affairs in that broken kingdome; where to oblige that Nation to him, he confirmed not onely all his former conces-

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ons by Act of Parliament, but all ſuch things alſo as had been acted by them in their Aſſembly held at *Glaſco*. And more then ſo, he parted with ſo much of his royall Prerogative (invaded and uſurped by them in the late Confuſions) that he had almoſt nothing left remaining to him, but the empty Title, the having of a Sword carried before him, and ſome other outward pomps of Court, which ſignifie juſt nothing when the power is gone.

This good ſucceſſe of the *Scots* encouraged the *Iriſh Papiſts* to attempt the like, and to attempt it in the ſame way as the *Scots* had gone; that is to ſay, by ſeizing his Towns, Forts, and Caſtles, putting themſelves into the body of an Army, baniſhing or impriſoning all ſuch as oppoſe their practiſes, and then petitioning the King for a publick Exerciſe of their Religion. The 23. of *Octob. An.* 1621. was the day deſigned for the ſeizing of the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, and many places of great importance in the Kingdom. But failing in the main deſign, which had been diſcovered the night before by one *Ocanelle*, they breake out into open arms, dealing no better with the Proteſtants there than the *Covenanters* had done with the Royall party in *Scotland*. Of this Rebellion (for it muſt be called a Rebellion in the *Iriſh*, though not in the *Scots*) the King gives preſent notice to his Houſes of Parliament, requiring their counſel and aſſiſtance for the extinguiſhing of that flame before it had waſted and conſumed that Kingdome. But neither the neceſſity of the Proteſtants there, nor the Kings importunity here, could perſwade them to levie one man

man towards the ſuppreſſion of thoſe Rebells, till the King had diſclaimed his power of preſſing ſouldiers in an Act of Parl. & thereby laid himſelf open to ſuch acts of violence as were then hammering againſt him. Which having done, they put an army of *Scots* (their moſt aſſured Friends) into the Northern parts of *Ireland*, delivering up into their hands the ſtrong Town and Port of *Carick-fergus*, one of the chief keys of that Kingdom; & afterwards ſent a ſmall body of *Engliſh* to preſerve the South, which *Engliſh* forces having done notable ſervice there againſt the Rebels, were kept ſo ſhort both in reſpect of pay & other neceſſaries by the Houſes of Parl. (who had made uſe of the money raiſed for the relief of *Irel.* to maintain a War againſt their King) that they were forced to come to a *Ceſſation*, & cheerfully returned home again to aſſiſt the King in that juſt War which he had undertaken for his own defence. The ground and occaſion of which War we are next to ſhew. At ſuch time as he was in *Scotl.* and expoſtulated with ſome of the chiefs among them, touching their coming into *Engl.* in an hoſtile manner, he found that ſome who were now leading men in the Houſes of Parliament had invited them to it. And having furniſhed himſelf with ſome prooſes for it, he commanded his Attorney Generall to impeach ſome of them of high Treaſon; that is to ſay, the L. *Kimbolton*, a Member of the Houſe of Peers, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Strode*, of the H. of Com. But ſending a Serj. at Arms to arreſt their perſons, there came a countermand from the Houſe of Com. by which the Serjeant was deterred from doing

doing his office, and the Members had the opportunity of putting themſelves into the Sanctuary of the City. The next day, being the fourth of *Janua y*, his Majeſty being no otherwiſe attended than with his ordinary Guard, went to the H. of Com. to demand the 5 Members of that Houſe, that he might proceed againſt them in a way of juſtice; but his intention was diſcovered, & the birds flown before his coming. And this was voted by the Commons for ſuch an inexpiable breach of priviledge, that neither the Kings qualifying of that Action, nor his deſiſting from the proſecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either ſay or do, would give ſatisfaction. Nothing muſt ſatisfie their *jealouſies* & ſecure their *fears*, but the putting the *tower of Lond.* into their hands, together with the command of the Royal Navie, as alſo of the Forts, Caſtles, & the Train-bands of the Kingdom, all comprehended under the name of the *Militia*; which if his Majeſty would fling after all the reſt, they would continue his moſt loyal ſubjects. On this the King demurs a while, but having ſhipt the Qu. for *Holl.* & got the Prince into his own power he becomes more reſolute, and ſtoutly ſtands on the denial.

Finding the Members too ſtrong for him, and *London*, by reaſon of the continuall Tumults to be a dangerous neighbour to him, he withdraws to *York*, that being in a place of ſafety, he might the better find a way to compoſe thoſe differences which now began to embroile the kingdome. At *Hull* he had a Magazine of arms and ammunition provided for the late intended war againſt the Scots, and laid up there when the occaſion of

that

that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to poſſeſſe himſelf, and to make uſe of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own preſervation; but comming before the Gates of the Town, he was denyed entrance by Sir *John Hotham*, who by the appointment of the Houſe of Commons had took charge of that place. The Gentry of *York-ſhire* who had petitioned the King to ſecure that *Magazin*, became hereby more firmly united to him. The like had been done alſo by the Yeomandry, and thoſe of the inferiour ſort, if his proceedings had not been undermined by a Committee of foure Gentlemen, all Members of the Houſe, and all of them Natives of that Country, ſent thither purpoſely (in a new and unprecedent way) to lie as Spies upon his Counſels, and as controllers to his actions. Some Meſſages there were betwixt him and the Houſes of Parliament, concerning the attoning of theſe differences, whilſt he was at *York*. But the XIX. Propoſitions ſent thither to him, did declare ſufficiently that there was no peace to be expected on his part, unleſſe he had made himſelf a cipher, a thing of no ſignification in the *Arithmetick* of State.

And now the War begins to open. The Parliament had their Guards already, and the Affront which *Hotham* had put upon his Majeſty at *Hull*, prompted the Gentlemen of *York-ſhire* to tender themſelves for a Guard to his Perſon. This preſently voted by both Houſes to be a levying of War againſt the Parliament, for whoſe defence, not onely the Train-bands of *London* muſt be in readineſſe, and the good people of the coun-

countrey required to put themſelves into a poſture of armes; but Regiments of *Horſe* and *Foot* are liſted, a General appointed, great ſumms of Money raiſed, and all this under pretence of taking the King out of the hands of his evil Counſellours. The noiſe of theſe preparations haſtens the King from *York* to *Nottingham*, where he ſets up his *Standard*, inviting all his good Subjects to repaire unto him, for defence of their King, the Lawes and Religion of their Countrey. He increaſed his Forces as he marched, which could not come unto the reputation of being an Army, till he came into *Shropſhire*, where great bodies of the loyall and ſtout-hearted *Welch* reſorted to him.

Strengthned with theſe, and furniſht ſufficiently with Field Pieces, Armes, and Ammunition, which the Queen had ſent to him out of *Holland*, he reſolves upon his march towards *London*, but on *Sunday* the twenty third of *October*, was encountred in the way, at a place called *Edge-Hill*, by the Parliament Forces. The Fight very terrible for the time, no fewer then 5000. men ſlain upon the place, the Prologue to a greater ſlaughter, if the dark night had not put an end unto that diſpute. Each part pretended to the victory, but it went clearly on the Kings ſide, who though he loſt his Generall, yet he kept the Field, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the dead bodies; and not ſo onely, but he made his way open unto *London*, and in his way forced *Banbury* Caſtle, in the very ſight as it were of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who with his flying Army made all the haſte he could towards the City (that he might

might be there before the King) to secure the Parliament. More certain signs there could not be of an absolute victory. In the Battel of *Taro*, between the *Confederates* of *Italy*, and *Charles* the eighth of *France*, it hapned so that the *Confederates* kept the Field, possest themselves of the Camp, Baggage, and Artillery, which the *French* in their breaking through had left behind them. Hereupon a dispute was raised, to whom the Honour of that day did of right belong; which all knowing and impartial men gave unto the *French*. For though they lost the Field, their Camp, Artillery, and Baggage, yet they obtained what they fought for, which was the opening of their way to *France*, and which the *Confederates* did intend to deprive them of. Which resolution in that case may be a ruling case to this; the King having not onely kept the Field, possest himself of the dead bodies, pillaged the carriages of the enemy, but forcibly opened his way towards *London*, which the enemy endeavoured to hinder, and finally entred triumphantly into *Oxford*, with no fewer then an hundred and twenty *Colours* taken in the Fight.

Having assured himself of *Oxford* for his *Winter* Quarters, he resolved on his Advance towards *London*, but had made so many halts in the way, that *Essex* was got thither before him; who had disposed of his Forces at *Kingston*, *Brentford*, *Acton*, and some other places thereabouts, not onely to stop his march, but to fall upon him in the Rear, as occasion served. Yet he goes forward notwithstanding as far as *Brentford*, out of which he beats two of their best Regiments,

takes

takes five hundred Prisoners, sinks their *Ordnance*, with an intent to march forwards on the morrow after being *Sunday*, and the twelfth of *November*. But understanding that the Earl of *Essex* had drawn his Forces out of *Kingston*, and joyning with the *London* Auxiliaries, lay in the way before him at a place called *Turnham-Green* neer *Cheswick*, it was thought safer to retreat towards *Oxford* while the way was open, then to venture his Army to the fortune of a second Battel, which if it were lost it would be utterly impossible for him to raise another. At *Oxford* he receives Propositions of peace from the Houses of Parliament, but such as rather did beseem a conquering then a losing side. But being resolved to treat upon them howsoever, he found the Commissioners so straitned in time, and so tied to such particular instructions as the Houses had given them, that nothing could be yeelded to which might conduce to the composing of the present Distempers. At the opening of the *Spring*, the Queen came to him, who had landed at a place in *York-shire* called *Burlington-Bay* in the end of *February*, and now brought with her unto *Oxford* some supplies of men with a considerable stock of Powder, Armes, and Ammunition. The next Summer makes him master of the *North* and *West*, some few places onely being excepted. The Earl of *New-* 1643.
castle with his Northern Army had cleared all parts beyond *Trent* (but the Town of *Hull*) of the enemies Forces. And with his own Army under the command of Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice* (two of the younger Sons of his Sister

Sister *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*) he reduced the Cities of *Bristol*, and *Exeter*, the Port Town of *Waymouth*, and all the Townes of any importance in the *Western* parts, except *Pool*, *Lime*, and *Plimouth*. So that he was in a manner the absolute Commander of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*. And though the Towns of *Plimouth*, *Lime*, and *Pool* still held out against him, yet were they so bridled by his neighbouring Garrisons, that they were not able to create him any great Disturbance.

The noise of the successes was so loud at *London*, that most of the leading men in both Houses of Parliament prepared for quitting of the kingdome, and had undoubtedly so done, if the King had followed his good fortunes, and advanced towards *London*. But unhappily diverting upon *Gloucester*, he lay so long there, without doing any thing to the purpose, that the Earl of *Essex* came time enough to raise the Siege and relieve the Town, though he made not haste enough to recover *London* without blowes. For besides some skirmishes on the *by*, which fell out to his losse, the King with the whole body of his Army overtook him at *Newbery*, where after a sharp fight (with the losse of the Earl of *Carnarvon*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Viscount *Falkland* on his Majesties side) he had the worst of the day, and had much ado to save his Canon, and march off orderly from the place; followed so hotly the next morning, that his own Horse, which were in the Reere, were fain to make their way over a great part of his *Foot*, to preserve themselves. Being returned to *Oxford* with

with Succeſſe and Honour, he Summons the Lords and Commons of Parliament to attend there on the twenty ſecond day of *January* then next following; and they came accordingly. And for their better welcome, he advances Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Earl of *Holdernes* and Duke of *Cumberland*, and creates *James* his ſecond Son (born the eleventh day of *October*, *Anno* 1633.) Duke of *York*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might ſit and vote amongſt them. But being come, they neither would take upon themſelves the name of a *Parliament*, nor acted much in order to his Majeſties deſigns; but ſtood ſo much upon their termes, and made ſo many unhandſome motions to him upon all occaſions, that he had more reaſon to call them a *Mongrel Parliament* in one of his Letters to the Queen, then they were willing to allow of. And now the Summer coming on, and the time fit for Action, he diſmiſſes them to their ſeveral Dwellings, and betakes himſelf unto the Field. The frequent traverſes whereof, the interchangeable taking and loſing of Towns by the chance of war, are too many in number to be compriſed in this ſhort Abſtract. It muſt ſuffice if I take notice of thoſe onely which are moſt conſiderable. 1644.

His Majeſty prevailing in the North and Weſt, t'was thought fit by the ruling party in the Houſes of Parliament, to crave aid of the *Scots*, whom they drew in the ſecond time, by the temptations of entring into Covenant with them, for conforming of this Church with that, ſharing amongſt

amongst them all the Lands of the Bishops, and sacrificing to their malice the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, as formerly they had done the Earl of *Strafford*. But besides these plausible allurements, the Commissioners of that Kingdom were to have so great a stroke in the Government of this, that the Houses could act nothing in order to the present war, no not so much as to hold a Treaty with the King, without their consent. Upon these baits they entred *England* with a puissant Army consisting of one and twenty thousand men well armed, and fitted for the service: and having made themselves Masters of *Berwick*, *Newcastle*, and all other places of importance on the other side of the *Tweed*, they laid Siege to *York*, where they were seconded by the Army of the Earl of *Mancheſter* drawn out of the associated Counties, and the remaining *York-shire* Forces under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*. The news where of being brought to *Oxford*, Prince *Rupert* is dispatcht with as much of the Kings forces as could well be spared, with a Commission to raise more out of the Counties of *Chester*, *Stafford*, *Darby*, *Leicester*, and *Lancaster*. So that he came before *York* with an Army of twelve thousand Men, relieved the Town with all things necessary, and might have gone away unfought with, but that such Counsel was too cold for so hot a stomach. Resolved upon the onset, he encountred with the enemy at a place called *Marston-Moor*, where the left Wing of his Horse gave such a fierce Charge on the right Wing of the enemy, consisting of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Horse in the Van, and the *Scots* Horse

Horſe in the Reere that they fell foul on that part of their own Foot which was made up of the Lord *Fairfax* his Regiments, and a reſerve of the *Scots*, which they brake wholly, and trod moſt of them under their Horſes feet. But the Princes Horſe following the execution too far, and none advancing to make good the place which they had left, the enemy had the opportunity to rally again, and got the better of the day; taking ſome Priſoners of good note, and making themſelves maſters of his Canon. So that not being able to do any thing in order to the regaining of the Field, he marched off ingloriouſly, ſquandred away the greateſt part of his Army, and retired to *Briſtol*. After this blow the Affairs of the North growing more deſperate every day then other, *York* yielded upon compoſition on the ſixteenth of *July* (being a juſt fortnight after the fight) the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle* and ſome principal Gentlemen paſt over the Seas, and the ſtrong Town of *Newcaſtle* was taken by the *Scots* on the nintereenth of *October* following.

In the mean time, the Queen being with child, began to draw neer the time of her Delivery. And it was generally believed that the Earl of *Eſſex* with his Forces had ſome aim on *Oxford*, as the Seat Royal of the King, the Reſidence of his Court and Council, and the Sanctuary of a conſiderable part of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy. In which reſpect it was thought fit, that the Queen ſhould remove to *Exceter*, as a place more remote from danger, and not far from the Sea, by which ſhe might take ſhipping for *France* as occaſion ſerved. On the ſixteenth

of *April* she began her journey, the King bearing her company as far as *Abingdon*, where they took leave of one another, neither of them having any the least presage, that the parting Kisse which they then took was to be their last. Convoid with a sufficient strength of Horse for her security on the way, she was received there with as much magnificence as that City was able to expresse; and on the sixteenth day of *June* was safely delivered of a Daughter, whom she Christened by the name of *Henrietta*. Assoon as she had well passed over the weaknesses and infirmities incident to Child-bed, she committed the young Princesse to the Lady *Dalkeith*, a Daughter of Sir *Edward Villiers*, one of the half Brothers of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and wife unto the Lord *Dalkeith*, the eldest Son of the Earl of *Morton*. Which having done (according to some instructions which she had received from the King) she took shipping at *Pendennis* Castle on the fifteenth of *July*, and passed into *France*, there to negotiate for some supplies of money, Arms and Ammunition for the advance of his Majesties service, and to continue howsoever in the Court of the King her Brother, till she might return again in Honour and safety.

And to say truth, her Removall from *Oxford* was not onely seasonable, but exceeding necessary at that time, the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *William Waller* with their severall Forces not long after her departure drawing neer to *Oxford*, on whose approch his Majesty leaving the greatest part of his Army for defence of that place, marched on directly towards *Wales*. Upon the

the News whereof, it was thought fit by the two *Generalls*, to divide their Armies; it being agreed upon that Sir *William Waller* ſhould purſue the King, and that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould march towards the *Weſt*, for the regaining of thoſe Countries. And now *the myſtery of iniquity* appeared in its proper colours: For whereas it was formerly given out by the Houſes of Parliament, that they had undertaken the war, for no other reaſon but to remove the K. from his evil Counſellors: thoſe *evil Counſellours* were left at *Oxford* unmoleſted, & the Kings Perſon only hunted. But the King underſtanding of this diviſion, thought himſelf able enough to deal with *Waller*, and giving him the go by, returned towards *Oxford*, drew thence the Remainder of his Army, and gave him a ſharp meeting at a place called *Cropredy-bridge*, where he obtained a ſignal victory on the twenty eighth of *June*, and entred triumphantly into *Oxford*. This done, he marched after the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had made himſelf maſter of ſome places in the Weſt of good importance. During this march, it hapned that one of the Carriages brake in a long narrow lane wch they were to paſſe, and gave his Maj. a ſtop at a time of an intolerable ſhower of rain which fell upon him: Some of his Courtiers, and others which were neer about him, offered to hew him out a way through the hedges with their ſwords, that he might get ſhelter in ſome of the Villages adjoyning; but he reſolved not to forſake his Canon upon any occaſion. At which when ſome about him ſeemed to admire, and marvelled at the patience which he ſhewed in that extremi-

ty, his Majesty lifting up his hat, made answer, *That as God had given him Afflictions to exercise his patience, so he had given him patience to beare his Afflictions.* A speech so heavenly and Divine, that it is hardly to be parallel'd by any of the men of God in all the Scripture. The carriage being mended, he went forward again, and trod so close upon the heeles of the Earl of *Essex*, that at last he drave him into *Cornw.* and there reduced him to that point, that he put himself into a Cock-boat with Sir *Phil. Stapleton* and some others, and left his whole army to his Majesties mercy. His Horse taking the advantage of a dark night, made a shift to escape, but the Commanders of the Foot came to this capitulation with his Maj. that they should depart without their Arms, which with their Canon, Baggage and Ammunition, being of very great consideration, were left wholly to his disposing.

Immediately after this successe, his Majesty dispatched a message from *Tavestock* to the two Houses of Parliament, in which he laid before them the miserable condition of the Kingdome; remembring them of those many messages which he had formerly sent unto them, for an accommodation of the present Differences; and now desiring them to bethink themselves of some expedient by which this issue of blood might be dried up, the distraction of the Kingdome setled, and the whole Nation put into an hope of Peace and Happinesse. To which Message, as to many others before, they either gave no answer, or such an one as rather served to widen, than close the breach, falsely conceiving that all his Ma-

Majesties offers of Grace and Favour proceeded either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakness and irresolution of his Counsels. So that the *Trage-comedy* of the *two Harlots* in the first of *Kings*, may seem to have been acted over again on the Stage of *England*. The King, like the true Mother, compassionately desired that the life of the poor infant might be preserved; the Houses, like the false Mother, considering that they could not have the whole, *voted* that it should be neither *mine* nor *thine*, but divided betwixt them. But if instead of this Message from *Tavestock*, his Majesty had gone on his own errand, and marched with his Army towards *London*, it was conceived that in all probability he might have made an end of the War; the Army of *Essex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchester* not returned from the Northern service. But sitting down before *Plimouth*, and staying there to perfect an Association of the Western Counties, he spent so much time, that *Essex* was again in the head of his Army; being seconded by the Earl of *Manchester* and Sir *William Waller*, made a stand at *Newbery*, where after a very hot fight, with variable success on both sides, each party drew off by degrees, so that neither of them could find cause to boast of the victory.

Winter comes on, which though it be not ordinarily a time of action, will notwithstanding afford us some variety which will not be unworthy of our observation. And first, a Garrison is formed at *Abington*, (a Town within five miles of *Oxford*) by order from the two Houses of Par-

liament, under the command of Coll. *Brown*; the King and Council looking on, and suffering the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be raised, and the Ordnance to be planted on the same. It cannot be denied, but that Sir *Henry Gage*, Governour at that time of *Oxford*, and many of the chief Commanders which were then in and about that city, offered their service to the King, and earnestly desired leave to prevent that mischief which by the Intrenchments of this Town must needs fall upon them. But the Lord *George Digby*, not long before made principall Secretary of Estate, had perswaded the King unto the contrary, upon assurance that he held intelligence with *Brown*, and that as soon as the Town was fortified and furnished with Victuall, Arms & Ammunition, at the charges of the Houses of Parliament, it would immediately be delivered into his Majesties hand. In which design he was out-witted, and consequently exposed unto some loss of reputation with all sorts of people. For *Brown* having brought his project to the *highest round of the ladder* (as himself expressed it) thought it high time to turn it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King; printing not long after all the Letters which passed between him and the Lord *Digby* upon this occasion. After this followed the taking of *Shrewsbury*, a place of very great importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into *Wales*, situate on a rising ground, and almost encompassed round about by the River *Severn*; that part which is not environed by water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very strong Castle.

By

By the loſs of which Town the Kings former entercouſe which his loyal Subjects of *North-Wales* was not only hindred, but a preſent ſtop was given to an Aſſociation, which was then upon the point of concluding between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Cheſter*, *Worceſter*, &c. to the great prejudice of the Kings affaires in thoſe parts of the Kingdome. Then comes the lamentable death of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, kept for four yeares a priſoner in the Tower of *London*, as before was ſaid; but reſerved onely as a bait to bring in the Scots, whenſoever the Houſes ſhould have occaſion for their ſecond coming; as formerly on the like temptation they had drawn them in, with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*. The Scots being come, and doing good ſervice in the North, it was thought fit they ſhould be gratified with that blood which they ſo greedily thirſted after. And thereupon the Arch-biſhop being voted guilty of High Treaſon by the Houſe of Commons, was condemned to die in ſuch a ſlender Houſe of Lords, that onely ſeven (*viz.* the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullinbrook*, the Lords *North*, *Gray* and *Brews*) were preſent at the paſſing of the ſentence of his condemnation. Which being paſt, he was brought unto the Scaffold on Tower-hill on the tenth of *January*, where he ended his life with ſuch a modeſt confidence, and ſo much piety, that his greateſt enemies then preſent, who came to behold the Execution with hearts full of joy, returned back with eyes as full of teares. Laſt of all, comes another Treaty ſolicited by the King, conſented to by the Houſes with no ſmall difficulty,

culty, and that upon condition to have the Treaty held at *Uxbridge*, a Town about fifteene miles from *London*, and more than twice as much from *Oxford*. According unto which appointment the Commissioners met on the thirtieth of *January*, accompanied with some Divines, for debating the point of Church-Government, when it came in question. But this Treaty proved as unsuccessefull as that at *Oxford* had done before; the Commissioners for the Houses offering no expedient for an Accommodation, nor hearkening unto such as were tendred to them in the name of the King. So that there being no hope of bringing the Warre unto an end this way, both parties were resolved to proceed in the other.

The King having wintred his Army at *Oxford* and the Towns adjoyning, it was thought fit to send the Prince into the West to perfect the Association which had been begun in the end of the last summer; and in those Countreys to advance such further forces as might not onely serve for the defence of themselves, but give some reasonable increase to his Majesties Army. In the beginning of *April* he set forwards towards *Bristol*, accompanied with the Lord *Culpeper* and Sir *Edward Hide*, as his principall Counsellours, and some of the chief Gentry of the West, who were of most authority in their severall Countreys. But before he had made himself master of any considerable strength, news came of the unfortunate success of the Battell of *Naseby*, which much retarded his proceedings; and hearing afterwards that

that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with his victorious Army was marching towards him, he quitted *Somerſetſhire*, and drew more Weſtward into the middle of *Devonſhire*. *Briſtoll* being taken, and his Majeſties affairs growing worſe and worſe, both there and elſewhere, he ſent a Meſſage unto *Fairfax*, deſiring a ſafe conduct for the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Culpeper* to go to the King and mediate with him for a Treaty with the Parliament. To which after a fortnights deliberation, he receives an anſwer of the eighth of *Novemb.* to this effect, That if he would disband his Army, and apply himſelf unto the Parliament, the Generall himſelf in perſon would conduct him thither. No hopes of doing good this way, and leſs the other, *Exeter* being beſieged, and *Barnſtable* taken by the enemies forces, he leaves his Army to the Lord *Hopton*, and withdrawes into the Dukedome of *Cornwall*. But finding that Countrey unable to protect him long, he paſſeth into the Iſle of *Silly*, and from thence unto the Queen his Mother, whom he found at *Paris*, not doubting but to receive ſuch entertainment in that Court, as might be juſtly looked for by the eldeſt Son of a Daughter of *France*. Which paſſages I have laid together in this place, that I might follow his Majeſties affairs elſewhere with the leſs interruption.

The Prince being gone for *Briſtoll*, as before is ſaid, his Majeſty reſolved on the approch of Summer, to relieve ſuch of his Northern Garriſons as had been left untaken the year before, and from thence to beſtow a viſit on the aſſociated Counties. But being on his march, and having ſtormed

ſtormed the Town of *Leiceſter* in his way, he retuned again ſo far as *Daventry*, upon the news that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* newly made Generall of the army in the place of *Eſſex*, was ſate down before *Oxford*. Concerning which we are to know, that not long after the beginning of this everlaſting Parliament, the *Puritan* Faction became ſubdivided into *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; of which the *Presbyterians* at the firſt carried all before them. The *Independents* growing up by little and little, and being better ſtudied in the arts of diſſimulation, eaſily undermined the others, and outed their Lord Generall, and all that commanded under him, of their ſeveral places, under colour of an Ordinance for *Self-deniall*. That done, they conferred that command on Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a man of more Precipitation than Prudence, not ſo fit for Counſel as Execution, and better to charge on an Enemy than command an Army. With him they joyned Coll. *Oliver Cromwell* (whom they diſpenced with in the point of *ſelf-deniall*) by the name of Lieutenant Generall; but ſo that he diſpoſed of all things as Commander in chief, and left *Fairfax* to his old trade of Execution, to which he had been accuſtomed. The like alteration happened alſo in the Kings Army; Coll. Sir *Patrick Ruthen*, a man of approved valour and Fidelity, being by his Majeſty made Earl of *Forth* in *Scotland*, was on the death of the Earl of *Lindſey* made the Lord Lieutenant of his Armies; and the next year made Earl of *Brentford*, for the good ſervice he had done in that place. Having both fortunately and faithfully diſcharged that office

for

for two years and more, he was outed of his place by a Court-contrivement made in the favour of Pr. *Rupert*, who a little before Christmas last was declared *Generalissimo* of his Majesties Forces: which he most ambitiously aspired unto, and at last obtained, notwithstanding his late defeat at *Marston-Moor*, his squandering away so brave an army, and his apparent want of Age, Experience and Moderation for so great a trust.

By these new Generals the fortune of the War, and the whole estate of the Kingdome, which lay then at stake, came to be decided. For *Fairfax* hearing that the King was come back as far as *Daventry* (which was the matter he desired) made directly towards him, with an intent to give him battel, and at a place neer *Naseby* in *Northamptonshire*, the two Armies meet on Saturday the 14. of *June*. The King had the better at the first, but Prince *Rupert* having routed one wing of the enemies Horse, followed the chace so unadvisedly, that he left the foot open to the other wing; who pressing hotly on them, put them to an absolute rout, and made themselves Masters of his Camp, Carriage and Canon, and amongst other things, of his Majesties Cabinet, in which they found many of his Letters, most of them written to the Queen, which were after publisht with little honour to them that did it. For whereas the *Athenians* on the like success had intercepted a packet of Letters from *Philip* King of *Macedon*, their most bitter enemy, unto severall friends, all the rest of those Letters being broke open before the Common Council of *Athens*,

Athens, one of which was subscribed to the Queen *Olympias*, was returned untoucht; the whole Senate thinking it a shamefull and dishoneſt act to discover and betray the Conjugal secrets betwixt man & wife. A modesty in which those of *Athens* stand as much commended by *Helladius Bisantinus*, an ancient Writer, as the chief leading men of the Houses of Parliament are like to stand condemned for the want of it in succeeding Histories.

But we return unto the King; who having saved himself by flight, gathered together some part of his scattered Forces, but never was able to make head against the conquerours; losing one place after another, till his whole strength was almost reduced to *Oxford*, and some few Garrisons adjoyning. I shall take notice onely of some of the principal, *viz. Chester*, *Conway*, *Hereford*, *Bristoll*, and *Exeter*, on which so great a part of his affaires did most especially depend. *Chester* first comes within the danger, a City of great importance in those parts of the Kingdome. To the relief of this place then besieged by Sir *William Brereton*, Coll. *Jones*, and others of that party, and at that time brought to some distresse, he made all the convenient speed he could; but was pursued upon the way, and charged in front by the besiegers, betwixt whom this small army was routed at a place called *Bauton-Heath*, and the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly created Earl of *Lichfield*) killed upon the place; the last of three brethren which had lost their lives in their Princes quarrel. On this discomfiture, the King draws towards the North-East,

and

and commands the Lord *Digby* with the Remainder of his Horſe to march for *Scotland*, and there to joyne with the Marqueſſe of *Montroſſe*, who with ſmall ſtrengths had acted Miracles in that Kingdom.

But at a Village in *York-ſhire* called *Sherburn* (a fatall name, but pointing to another place) where he ſurprized 700 of the Parliaments Foot, he was ſet upon by Col. *Copley*, his Forces made drunk with the good fortune of the day very eaſily maſtered, and he himſelf compelled to fly into *Ireland*, never returning ſince that time to his Native Country. But notwithſtanding the Kings misfortune before mentioned, which happened on the twenty ninth of *September*, the Lord *Byron*, who had the command of the Garriſon in *Cheſter*, held it out gallantly till the firſt of *February*; and then perceiving that there was no hopes of any Succour, came to an honourable compoſition, and gave up the Town, the greateſt part of the Country falling into the ſame condition with their mother City. Before we leave the North-weſt parts, we muſt look upon the fortune of the Town and Caſtle of *Conway*, a place of principal Command on that narrow Channel which runeth between the County of *Carnarvan* and the *Iſle* of *Angleſey*. Before this Town, being then beſieged by Coll. *Mitton*, came Dr. *John Williams*, formerly Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, and at that time Arch-biſhop of *York*: Who to ingratiate himſelf with the Houſes of Parliament, and to ſave the charges of compounding for Delinquency, came with ſome forces to the aid of the Beſiegers (ſome ſay in Armour)

mour) and encamped there till the place was taken; to the Amazement of the world and the eternal infamy and Reproch of his Person.

Briſtol comes next, a place conveniently ſeated for the Trade of *Spain*, the River capable of great Ships, and the port well guarded. At the taking of this City by the Kings Forces, to ſuch ſtrengths as before it had, there was added a Fort Royall (as they called it) then conceived impregnable; into this City Prince *Rupert* (who had ſpent there too much of the year before) had put himſelf at the preſent. and was beſieged not long after by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; who came before it on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, and had it ſurrendred to him without any memorable reſiſtance, together with the old Caſtle and the Royall Fort, on the thirteenth of *September*. The quick ſurrendry of which place, being ſo well fortified and furniſht with victuall, Arms and Ammunition, and the weak defences which were made to preſerve the ſame, created ſome ſuſpicion of diſloyalty in Prince *Rupert* towards the King his Uncle. There had before paſſed ſome Letters betwixt the King and him, touching the Kings coming to a ſpeedy agreement with his Houſes of Parliament, in which the King was preſt ſo far, that he ſeemed to be diſpleaſed at it. And now this news coming on the neck of thoſe Letters, ſtartled him into ſuch a diſtruſt of his Nephews Loyalty, that he diſpatcht a meſſenger with all ſpeed to the Lords at *Oxford*, to diſplace Coll. *William Legg* (one of the Confidents of Prince *Rupert*) who had ſucceeded Sir *Henry Gage* in the Government of that City, and

and to put into his place Sir *Thomas Glenham*, a Gentleman of known extraction, and more known fidelity. Nor were the Lords of the Council leſſe amazed at the news then his Majeſty was, who thereupon, when Prince *Rupert* and his Brother *Maurice* returned to *Oxford*, commanded them to be diſarmed, and would not ſuffer them to walk the ſtreets with their Swords by their ſides, as they had done formerly; though afterwards by the Kings great goodneſſe, they were reſtored to all apparencies of favour, though not to any eſpecial places of Command or Truſt. *Hereford* followes the ſame fortune, which having in vain been beſieged by the *Scots*, from the 13. of *July* to the firſt of *Septem.* was ſuddenly ſurprized by Col. *Birch* & Col. *Morgan* (this laſt then Governour of *Gloceſter*) on the eighteenth of *Decemb.* *Exceter* holds out longeſt, and was laſt attempted, ſuch blocks as lay in the way between *Fairfax* his Army and that City being firſt in the courſe of war to be removed. Which took up ſo much time that it was the twenty fifth day of *January* before *Fairfax* could come neer enough to give it a Summons, and being ſummond it held out till the thirteenth of *April*, and then was yeelded upon as honourable Conditions as any other whatſoever; all other Garriſons in the Weſt being firſt ſurrendred, the Princes Forces worſted at *Torrington*, not long after disbanded upon Compoſition, and he himſelf retired into *France* for his perſonal ſafety.

All theſe miſchances thus hapning on the neck of one another, all the Kings hopes and expecta-

tion

on reſted upon the coming of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, created Lord *Aſtley* of *Reading* two years ſince. Who having kept together ſome Remainders of the Kings Forces ſince the Fight neer *Cheſter*, and increaſing them with the Acceſſion of ſome freſh ſupplies, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir *John Campsfield* with the *Oxford* Horſe. But either through the want of intelligence, or the neceſſity of fate, or ſome occaſionall delayes, it was ſo long before *Campsfield* was upon his march, that the news came of the Lord *Aſtley*'s being vanquiſh'd at a place called *Donnington* neer *Stow* on the *Wold*, on the 21. of *March*. In which fight himſelf was taken priſoner, and with him all the Kings hopes loſt of preſerving *Oxford*, till he could better his condition. In this extremity he left the city in diſguiſe on the 27 day of
1646. *April*, *Anno* 1646. and on the 4. of *May* put himſelf into the hands of Scots, then lying at the ſiege of *Newark*. After the taking of which Town, they carried him to *Newcaſtle*, and there kept him under a Reſtraint. The news whereof being brought to *Oxford*, and ſeconded by the coming of the whole Army of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who laid ſiege unto it, diſpoſed the Lords of the Council, and ſuch of the principall Gentry who had the conduct of the Affair, to come to a ſpeedy Compoſition. According whereunto, that City was ſurrendred on *Midſummer* day; *James* Duke of *York* the Kings ſecond Son, together with the Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, were delivered up into the hands of the Enemy: by whom the young Duke was ſent to *Weſtminſter*, and

and kept in the House of S. *James* under a Guard with his Brother and Sisters; the Seals being carried into the House of Peers, and there broke in pieces. But long these young Princes were not kept together under that restraint, the Princess *Henrietta* being in a short time after conveyed into *France* by the Lady *Dalkieth*; and the Duke of *York*, attired in the habit of a young Lady transported into *Holland* by one Captain *Bamfield*.

The Scots in the mean time being desirous to make even with their *Masters*, to receive the *wages* of their *iniquity*, and to get home in safety with that spoil and plunder which they had gotten in their marching and remarching betwixt *Tweed* and *Hereford*; had not the patience to attend the leisure of any more voluntary surrendries. They therefore pressed the King to give order to the Marquess of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, and to all the Governours of his Garrisons in *England*, to give up all the Towns and Castles which remained untaken, to such as should be appointed to receive them for the Houses of Parliament, assuring him that otherwise they neither could nor durst continue him in their protection. To this necessity he submitted, but found not such a generall obedience to his commands as the Scots expected: For not the Marquess of *Ormond* onely, but many of the Governours of Towns and Castles in *England* considered him as being under a constraint, and speaking rather the sense of others than his own; upon which grounds they continued still upon their guard, in hope of better times or of better conditions. But nothing

was more hotly prefſed by the Scots, than that the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* ſhould lay down his Commiſſion, who with ſmall ſtrength in the beginning, and inconſiderable Forces when they were at the beſt, had acted things in *Scotland* even unto admiration. For beſides many victories of leſs conſequence, he had twice beaten the Marqueſs of *Argile* out of the field, followed him home, and waſted his Countrey with Fire and Sword. He vanquiſht *Baily*, one of the beſt Souldiers of the Faction, commanding over a well-form'd Army in a ſet battel fought between them; followed his blow, and made himſelf Maſter of the City and Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, releaſing divers of his Friends, who had been ſeized and impriſoned there when he firſt took arms. Had the Lord *Digby*'s Horſe come to him, he had not onely perfected, but aſſured the conqueſt of that Kingdome. But inſtead of thoſe aids which he expected, he was unexpectedly ſet upon, and his whole army broken by *David Leſley*, ſent from the Scots army into *England* with ſix thouſand Horſe to oppoſe the progreſs of his fortune; whoſe coming being known to the Earl of *Loxlorow* and *Traquair*, (in whom the King continued ſtill his wonted confidence) was purpoſely concealed from him; to the end that he being once ſuppreſſed, and in him the Kings power deſtroyed in *Scotland*, they might be ſure from being called to an account of their former Treaſons: howſoever he began to make head again, and was in a good way of well-doing, when he received the Kings command to diſband his Forces; to which he readily conformed,

took

took ſhip, and put himſelfe into a voluntary exile.

Theſe Obſtacles removed, his Majeſty conceived ſome thoughts of finding Sanctuary in *Scotland*, the Scots having firſt aſſured him, (as he ſignified by Letter to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*) before he put himſelf into their hands, that they would not onely take his perſon, but ſo many of his party alſo, as repaired unto him, into their protection, and ſtand to him with their lives and fortune. According to which hopes on his part, and thoſe aſſurances on theirs, he had a great mind to return to his Native Countrey, his *Ancient and Native Kingdome*, as he uſed to call it, there to expect the bettering of his condition in the changes of time. But the Scots hearing of his purpoſe, and having long ago caſt off the yoak of Subjection, voted againſt his coming to them in a full Aſſembly; ſo that we may affirm of him as the Scripture doth of Chriſt our Saviour, *viz. He came unto his own, and his own received him not.* The like reſolution alſo was entertained by the Commiſſioners of that Nation, and the chief Leaders of their Army, who had contracted with the Houſes of Parliament, and for the ſumme of two hundred thouſand pounds in ready money, ſold and betrayed him into the hands of his Enemies, as certainly they would have done with the Lord Chriſt himſelf for halfe the money, if he had *bowed the Heavens and came downe to viſit them.* By the Commiſſioners ſent from the Houſes to receive him, he was conducted to *Holdenby* a fair houſe of his own, and one of the goodlieſt

Piles in England, ſcituate not far from *Naſeby*, (to the intent that he might be continually grieved with the ſight of the fatall place of his overthrow) but kept ſo cloſe that none of his Domeſtick ſervants, no not ſo much as any of his own Chaplains were ſuffered to have Acceſſe unto him.

In the mean time a breach began betwixt the *Presbyterian* party in both Houſes and ſome chief Officers of the Army, which growing every day wider and wider, one Co net *Joice*, with a conſiderable party of Horſe, was ſent to ſeize on his Majeſties Perſon, and bring him ſafe to their head Quarters. There at the firſt he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of Love and Duty, ſome of his Chaplains licenſed to repair unto him, and read the Book of Common-Prayer as in former-times, and the way open unto all thoſe of his party, who deſired to ſee him. This made the Animoſities between thoſe of the two Houſes and the Army to be far greater then before, the City cloſing with that party of the Houſes which deſired the Kings coming to the Parliament, and going down in a tumultuous manner required the preſent voting of a Perſonal Treaty. This made the Speaker and ſuch of both Houſes, as either held for the Army or had no mind to ſee the Kings Return to *London*, to quit the Parliament, and to betake themſelves to their Protection; incouraged wherewith they reſolved upon their march towards *London*, to reſtore thoſe members to their Houſes, and thoſe Houſes to the Power and Freedom of Parliaments. Upon the noiſe of whoſe Approch, the Citizens who be-

before ſpake big, and had begun to raiſe an Army, under the Command of the Lord *Willowby* of *Parham* ſent their Petitions for a peace, and gladly opened all their works between *Hide-Park* Corner and the *Thames*, to make an entrance for the Army; who having placed their Speakers in their ſeverall Chaires, and ſuppreſt thoſe of the oppoſite party, made a triumphant paſſage through the chief Streets of the City, with Trumpets ſounding, Drums beating, and Colours flying. The King removed from one place to another was brought in the courſe of thoſe Removes to *Caſam* Lodge, an Houſe of the Lord *Cravens* not far from *Reading*, where he obtained the favour of giving a meeting to his Children at *Maydenhith*, and there they dyned together, the Generall willingly conſenting; and the houſes not then daring to make any denial. From thence he was at laſt brought to his own Pallace of *Hampton Court*, where being terrified with the Apprehenſion of ſome Dangers, which were given out to be deſigned againſt his perſon by the *Adjutators*, who for a time much governed the lower part of the Army, he left that place accompanied onely with two or three of his ſervants, and put himſelf unfortunately into the power of Col. *Hammond* in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, where no relief could come unto him. Being ſecured in *Carisbrook Caſtle*, Propoſitions are ſent to him from the Houſes of Parliament, as had been done before at *Newcaſtle*, and *Holdenby-Houſe*; to which he returned the ſame Anſwer now as he did before, their Demands being nothing bettered, and his condition nothing

worse then before it was. Provoked wherewith, the Houses past their *Votes* of *Non-Addresse* to his Majesty, and take the Government upon themselves, as in the times of *Vacancy* or *Interregnum* in the State of *Rome*; wherein they were confirmed by a Declaration from the Army, binding themselves to stand to them in defence of those Votes.

During the time of these restraints, he betook himself to meditation, and then composed that most excellent Book entituled Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *or the Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*. The Honour of this work some mercenary Sticklers for the two Houses of Parliament have laboured to deprive him of, and to transfer it to some other, though they know not whom. But it is well known to all that knew him, that his Majesty had alwaies a fine stroke with his pen, which he practised at all times of leisure, and recesse from businesse, from before his coming to the Crown, to these last extremities. By means whereof he became master of a most pure and elegant Stile, as both his intercepted Letters, and those to Mr. *Henderson* at *New-Castle* in the point of *Episcopacy* (where he could have no other helps but what he found in himself) do most clearly evidence.

1648. And now the Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms against him, began to look upon his Estate with Commiseration, and seeing they could obtain no favour, or freedom for him in the way of Petition, they resolved to try their fortunes in the way of Force. And first a very considerable part of the Royal Navy

Navy, encouraged by Captain *Battin*, formerly Vice-Admirall to the Earl of *Warwick*, was put into the power of the Prince of *Wales* to be made uſe for his Majeſties ſervice in that ſad condition, and next the *Kentiſh* who twice or thrice before had ſhewed their readineſſe to appear in Arms on his behalf, put themſelves into a poſture of War under the conduct of one Mr. *Hales* (an Heir of great hope and expectation) and after under the command of *George* Lord *Goring*, Earl of *Norwich*, the Earl of *Holland*, whom he had cheriſht in his Boſome, and who unworthily deſerted him in the firſt beginning of his troubles, repenting when it was too late of his great diſloyalties, began to raiſe ſome ſmall Forces in the County of *Surrey*; *Loughern*, *Poyer*, and *Powel* who before had ſerved under the pay of the Houſes, ſeized on ſome ſtrong Towns and Caſtles in *South-Wales*, and declared againſt them; the Caſtle of *Pomfret* was ſuprized by Stratagem, and kept by them who had ſurprized it, for his Majeſties ſervice. And finally the Marqueſſe of *Hamilton* (not long before created *Duke*, *Hamilton* of *Arran* having raiſed a ſtrong Army of *Scots*, confederated himſelf with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* and others of the Kings party in the North, and having Garriſoned the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, paſt into *England* with his Forces under colour of reſtoring the King to his Crown and Liberty.

But theſe eruptions in both Kingdoms, though they might give his Majeſty ſome hopes of a better condition, yet did they not take him off from looking ſeriouſly into himſelf, and taking

into Consideration those things which had formerly passed him, and which might seem most to have provoked Gods displeasure against him. And what they were which most particularly grated on his Conscience appeareth by the *Prayer* and *Confession* which he made for the times of his Affliction; and is this that followeth, *viz.* "Almighty and most mercifull Father, as it is onely thy goodnesse that admits of our imperfect "Prayers; and the knowledge that thy mercies "are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy "accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confesse our Sins "freely unto thee; and of all men living, I have "most need, most reason so to do, no man having been so much obliged by thee, no man "more grievously offending thee: that Degree "of knowledge which thou hast given me, adding likewise to the guilt of my Transgressions. "For was it through ignorance, that I *suffered* "*innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of thy* "*worship to be set up in Scotland?* And *injured* "*the Bishops in England?* O no; but with shame "and grief I confesse, that I therein followed "the perswasions of worldly wisdome, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: wherefore O Lord, I have no excuse to "make, no hope left but the multitude of thy "mercies; for I know my repentance weak, "and my Prayers faulty: Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so to strengthen my repentance, "and amend my Prayers, that thou maist clear "the way for Thine own mercies; to which O

"let

"let thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a "ſpeedy end to my deſerved Afflictions. In the "mean time, give me patience to endure, Con-"ſtancy againſt temptations, and a Diſcerning "Spirit to chuſe what is beſt for thy Church and "People, which thou haſt committed to my "charge; grant this, O mercifull Father, for "thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Saviour, "Amen.

Now as the King thus armed himſelf againſt all future events, in the middle of theſe hopes and expectations; ſo the Houſes of Parliament were not wanting to themſelves in their care and diligence to deſtroy thoſe hopes, and make thoſe expectations fruitleſſe and of no effect. For the Storm thus breaking out on all ſides, Lieutenant Generall *Cromwel* with ſome part of the Army, is ordered to march into *Wales*, where he reduced ſuch Towns and Caſtles under his command, as had before been manned againſt them, the three chief Captains above named yeelding themſelves upon the hopes of that mercy which they never taſted. This done he haſteneth towards the *Scots*, whom he found in *Lancaſhire*, diſcomfits them, takes all their Foot, with their Canon, Arms, and Ammunition. The Duke or Marqueſſe, with his Horſe, which had eſcaped out of the fight, were ſo cloſely followed by the diligence of the purſuers, that moſt of his Horſe being ſlain or taken, himſelf was ſent Priſoner unto *London*. Following his blow, *Cromwel* beſtowes a viſit on *Scotland*, ſuppreſſes all thoſe in that Kingdom, who ſtood in any ſort ſuſpected of the crime of Loyalty, the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* being

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ing delivered into his hands without blowes or Blood-shed. An expedition, which he made good use of in his following Counsils, discovering by this meanes the weaknesse and condition of the Country, the irreconcilable Factions and part-takings amongst the great ones of that Realm, on whose divided wills and pleasures all the rest depended; and on what side they lay most open and assaultable, when any further occasion should be taken (as there after was) to attempt upon them. In the mean time, some Troops of the other part of the Army scatter the weak forces of the Earl of *Holland*, who flying towards the North, is taken at Saint *Neots* in the County of *Huntingdon*, and sent Prisoner unto *London* also. The *Kentish* being either scattered, or forced over the *Thames*, put themselves into the Town of *Colchester*, and are there besieged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* himself with his part of the Army. The issue of which Siege was this, that after some extremities endured by the besieged, the place was yeelded upon composition, the Townsmen to be safe from plunder, the Souldiers and their Commanders to yeeld themselves Prisoners absolutely without any Conditions. The Principal of these were the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, all of them of approved valour and fidelity; of which the two last were shot to death upon the place, the first reserved for the Scaffold; on which he lookt death in the face with as much magnanimity, as *Hamilton* and *Holland* (who suffered at the same time with him) entertained it with a poornesse and Dejection of Spirit. And which

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was worſt (becauſe it loſt ſome Reputation to the P. in his firſt Attempt) the Marriners growing diſcontented that Prince *Rupert* was appointed to be their Admirall, inſtead of the Lord *Willowby* of *Parham* by whom they deſired to be commanded; fell off with many of their Ships, and returned again to their Lord Admirall the Earl of *Warwick*. By the withdrawing of which Ships, he was rendred the leſſe able to do any thing conſiderable on the Sea, and landing with ſome Forces neer *Deal*-Caſtle in *Kent*, ſped not ſo fortunately as both his Friends hoped and himſelf expected.

But notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes, the Houſes ſeeing how deſirous the whole Nation was of a Perſonall Treaty, recalled their *Votes* of *No-Addreſſe*, and ordered that a Perſonall Treaty ſhould be held with His Majeſty at *Newport* in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, to begin on the eighteenth day of *September* next following. But the Commiſſioners which were ſent to mannage this Treaty, ſpent ſo much time upon each *Nicety* and *Punctillio* of the Propoſitions, before they drew towards a Concluſion, that they gave the Officers of the Army too much opportunity to frame and publiſh a *Remonſtrance*, bearing date at S. *Albans* on the ſixteenth of *November*. In which it was declared that the King was the ſole cauſe of all that blood-ſhed which had been made in the Kingdom, that he was incapable of any further truſt in the publick government, and that nothing could be more expedient to the ſafety of the Common-wealth, then to bring him to the Bar of Juſtice. Nor ſtaid they there, but in purſuit

suit of this Design, some of the Officers were appointed to go into the *Isle* of *Wight*, and having seized upon his Person to bring him over to *Hurst* Castle in *Hampshire*, from whence they brought him by degrees to *Windsor*, and at last to *Westminster*. And on the other side the *Independent* Party in the House of *Commons* (holding intelligence with the Army) voted his Majesties Concessions to be so unsatisfactory, that no well-grounded Peace could be built upon them. In the next place, a care was taken by the Army to purge the House of all those members to whom his Majesties condescensions had given satisfaction. Which done, a New Court, called the *High Court of Justice*, is to be set up, a President of the same appointed, certain Commissioners nominated to Act as Judges, and a set time designed to call his Majesty to a Tryall, in an unprecedent way, before his Subjects. It is reported that at his going from the *Bar*, one of the Souldiers most barbarously spit in his face, and used very reprochfull words against him. Which though his Majesty suffered with his wonted patience, yet the Divine vengeance would not suffer it to go unrevenged; that wretch being not long after condemned in a Court of War, for some endeavours to make a Mutiny in the Army, and openly shot to death in S. *Pauls* Churchyard.

And now Saturday the 20. of *January*, the day of his appearing being come, his Majesty was brought from the Palace of S. *James* unto *Westminster Hall*, to appear before the new Judges, and answer unto all particulars which are thought fit

fit to be objected. His appearance could not be avoided, in regard he was under a constraint; but no constraint could force his wil to make him acknowledge their Authority, or submit himself unto their judgement. He would not so betray the Liberty of the English Subject (as he plainly told them) to any arbitrary and lawless Power, as he must needs do by submitting unto their proceedings; and therefore since the Laws and Liberties of the Land were now in question, he stood resolved to die a Martyr for them both. For which contempt (having stood resolutely on the same terme, as oft as he was brought before them) he was sentenced on Saturday the 27 of the same moneth to lose his life, by the dividing of his head from his body. That fatall morning being come, the Bishop of *London*, who attended on him in that sad exigent, read the morning Prayers, and for the first Lesson thereof, the 27. Chapter of S. *Matthews* Gospel, relating the History of our Saviours Sufferings under *Pontius Pilate*, by the practise of the chief Priests, the Scribes and Pharisees, and others of the *Great Council* of the *Jewish* Nation. At first his Majesty conceived that the Bishop had made choice of that Chapter, as being very agreeable to his present condition; But when he understood that it was the Chapter which the Church had appointed for that day in her publick *Kalendar*, he seemed to apprehend it with some signs of rejoycing. No sooner had he done his Devotions, but he is hurried to *White-hall*, out of the Banquering-house, whereof a way was forced to a *Scaffold* on which he was to act the last part of his

his *Tragedy* in the ſight of the people. Having declared that he died a Martyr for the Lawes of this Kingdome, and the Liberties of the Subjects, he made a Confeſſion of his Faith, inſinuating that he died a true Son of the Church of *England*, he betook himſelf to his private Devotions, and patiently ſubmitted that Royall Head to an Executioner, which had before beene crowned with ſo much outward Pomp and Splendour.

The Members of both Houſes had often promiſed him in their Petitions, Meſſages and Declarations, that they would make him a *great and glorious King*, and now they were as good as their words, changing his fading but painfull *Crown of Thorns*, which they firſt *platted* for him, to an *immarceſſible Crown of Glory*.

At his firſt coming to the Crown, one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and now a Biſhop in this Church, taking good heed unto the cloſe contrivances of ſome, and the ſeditious actings of others in his two firſt Parliaments, thought fit to give him and his Council ſuch an *item* of it, as might awaken them to prevent thoſe miſchiefs which otherwiſe might enſue upon it. And thereupon he preached before them on theſe words of S. *Matthews* Goſpel, *viz.* *But when the husbandmen ſaw the Son, they ſaid among themſelves, This is the heir, come let us kill him, and let us ſeize on his inheritance*, Mat. 21. 38. In the diſſecting of which Text, he made ſuch an Anatomy of the Husbandmen, whom he had in hand (with reference to ſome Plots and Practiſes which were then on foot) and his whole diſcourſe upon the ſame, that he gave the King and thoſe about him

him such Remembrances, as might make them have an eye unto themselves and the publick safety. But then withall (though he carried on the matter with great care and prudence) he drew so much danger on himself from some leading Members in the second Parliament, who thought themselves as much concerned in the Sermon as the chief Priest and Pharisees did in the Parable, that he was upon the point of leaving the Kingdome, when he had news that his Majesty had dissolved the second Parliament in no small displeasure. What he then preached concerning the said Husbandmen, was after practised, and that he then fore-signified was accomplished now. Which shews him to have been both a Priest and a Prophet, if at the least the name of a Prophet may be given unto any man who foretelleth not of things to come by Divine Revelation, but out of a deep insight into businesse.

But we return unto the King, whom if we look on in his Children (the most lively Images and Representations of deceased Parents) we shall find him to have been the Father of four Sons and five Daughters.

1. *CHARLES-JAMES* born at *Greenwich* on Wednesday the 13. of *May*, 1629. but died almost as soon as born, having been first christened by Dr. *Web*, one of the Chaplains in Attendance, and afterwards a Bishop in *Ireland*.

2. *CHARLES* Duke of *Cornwall* by Birth, Prince of *Wales* in Designation, and Knight of the Garter, born at his Majesties house of Saint *James* neer *Westminster*, *May* 29. 1630. solemnly

leninly crowned King of the *Scots* at *Edenburgh* on the first day of *January*, *Anno* 1650. But being invaded by an Army from *England*, under the command of Generall *Cromwell*, he was forced to quit that Kingdome and try his fortunes in the other; so closely followed by the Army, which compelled him to that Expedition, he was fought with neer *Worcester* on the third of *September*, 1651. before the Earl of *Darby* and some others of his party here could come to aid him with their Forces. In which Battel, though he acted beyond the expectation of his Friends, and to the great applause of his very Enemies; yet it so pleased the Divine Providence, that he lost the day, and being miraculously preserved (notwithstanding the diligent search which was made after him) he passed safely over into *France* to the Queen his Mother. Finding that Court unsafe for him, he passed into *Flanders*, accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *York*, *Anno* 1654. where they have continued ever since.

13. *JAMES* born in the same place on the 13. day of *Octob. An.* 1633. entituled Duke of *York* by his Majesties command at the time of his birth; created so by Letters Patents, bearing date at *Oxford Jan.* 27. *An.* 1643. and not long after made Knight of the Garter. Taken prisoner at the surrendry of *Oxford*, *June* 24. 1646. he was carried to his Majesties house of S. *James*, and there kept under a Guard with his Brother and Sister; but being attired in the habit of a young Lady, he was conveyed thence about two years after by one Coll. *Bamfield*, who brought him safely into *Holland*, and presented him a most wel-

welcome guest to the Princesse of *Orange*, from whence he past afterwards into *France* to his Mother and Brother.

4. *HENRY* born on the seventeenth of *July*, designed to the Dukedom of *Glocester*, and so commanded to be called. Left by his Majesty at the House of S. *James* (the place of his birth) at such time as he withdrew towards the North, *Anno* 1642. he remained there till the Death of his Father, and some years after, and then upon the promise of an Annual pension, was permitted to go into *France* to his Mother and the rest of the Kings Children. But in the year 1654. almost as soon as his two elder Brethren had removed themselves into *Flanders*, he found a strong practise in some of the Queens Court to seduce him to the Church of *Rome*, whose Temptations he resisted beyond his years, and thereupon was sent for by them into *Flanders*.

5. *MARY* born on the fourth of *November*, 1631. and married to Count *William* of *Nassau* Eldest Son to *HENRY* Prince of *Orange*, on Sunday the second of *May*, *Anno* 1641. conveyed by the Queen her Mother into *Holland* in the *February* following, where she stil remaines. Her Husband having succeded his Father in all his Titles and Estates, died young, and left her the hopefull Mother of a Son now Prince of *Orange*.

6. *ELIZABETH* born the twenty eighth of *January* 1635. survived her Father, but died with hearts grief not long after.

7. *ANNE* born the seventeenth of *March*, 1637. died before her Father.

8. *KATHARIN* who died almost as soon as born.

9. *HENRIETTA* born at *Exceter June* the sixteenth 1644. conveyed not long after into *France* by the Lady *Dalkeith* to the Queen her Mother, where she still remaines.

It is observed of the *Wolf*, that as soon as he is once full he begins to *howl*, and such a *howling* fit fell at this time on the *Presbyterians*. They had carried on this Tragedy to the very last Act from the first bringing in of the Scots to the beginning of the war, and from the beginning of the war till they had brought him prisoner into *Holmby-House*, and then quarrelled with the *Independents* for taking the work out of their hands, and robbing them of the long-expected fruits of their Plots and Practises. They cried out against them in their Pulpits, and clamoured against them in their Pamphlets for this most execrable fact, of which themselves were parcel-guilty at the least, *Et si non re, at voto pariter Regicidæ, &c.* On the other side, the *Independents*, who had washt their hands in the blood of the King, seemed as desirous as the *Presbyterians* to *wash their hands of it*. By them it was alledged more calmly, that they had put *Ch. Stuart* to death, against whom they had proceeded as the sole cause of so much blood-shed; but that the King had been murthered a long time before by the *Presbyterians*, when they deprived him of his Crown, his Sword & his Scepter; of his Crown, by forcing from him those Prerogatives which placed him in a Throne of Eminence above his People; of his Sword, by wresting the Militia out of his hands, by which he was made unable to protect them; and finally, of his Scepter, in divesting him of the power

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of calling Parliaments, and of his *Negative voice* in making those Laws by which he was to govern all estates of men under his Dominion. And more then so, that they had deprived him of his naturall Liberty, as he was a Man, of the society of his Wife, as he was a Husband, of conversation with his Children, as he was a Father, of the attendance of his Servants, as he was a Master, and in a word, of all those comforts which might make life valued for a Blessing. So that there was nothing left for the *Independents* to do, but to put an end to those Calamities, into which this miserable man, this *vir dolorum* (as he might very well be called) had been so accursedly plunged by the *Presbyterians*.

Thus did each party seek to shift the guilt of this most execrable Act upon one another, and thus fell *CHARLES* the meekest of Men and the best of Princes, leaving behind him an example of Christian fortitude, in suffering patiently that blow, which neither the Law of God or man, nor any deservings of his own could inflict upon him. His body being removed to *Windsor*. was there interred in the same Vault with K. *Henry* the eighth, but not interred with that solemnity, nor in that publick form and manner which is appointed in the *Liturgy* of the Church of *Engl.* of which he had been alwayes a devout Observer, and to the last a resolute Patron and Defender. His Funerall solemnized and his Death lamented with fewer tears than can be easily imagined; men bleeding inwardly from their hearts, when their eyes durst not expresse outwardly what grief they felt. So dangerous were the times, *Ut*

suspiria

ſuſpiria etiam ſubſcriberentur (as *Tacitus* affirmeth of the times of *Domitian* a moſt cruell Tyrant) that mens very ſighs were regiſtred and kept upon account toward the undoing of many in the time to come. But though he died thus in the ſtrength of his years, he ſtill lives in the memories of all good men, and by that moſt excellent Portraiture which he hath made of himſelf, will be preſerved alive amongſt all Nations, and unto all ſucceeding Ages. *The Portraiture of King* Charles in his *Solitudes and Sufferings*, will be a Character of his Parts and Piety beyond all expreſſions but his own; a Monument of richer metall than all the Tombs of Braſſe or Marble erected to the honour of his Predeceſſors; which no Inſcription whatſoever, though in Letters of Gold, and engraven with a pen of Diamonds, can be able to parallel. And ſo I ſhut up this ſhort View of the Life and Reign of this glorious King, as *Tacitus* doth the Life of *Julius Agricola*, a right noble Roman (the names of the perſons onely changed) *viz. Quicquid ex* Carolo *amavimus, quicquid mirati ſumus, manet manſurumq; eſt in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum.*

Horat. Carm. lib. 1. Ode 24.

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam mihi.

ERRATA.

Pag. 6. l. 4. for *woman*, r. *women*. p. 37. l. 3. for *of* r. *and*.

THE END.

SEVERAL

SPEECHES

DELIVERED

By his MAJESTY.

SEVERAL

SPEECHES

DELIVERED

By His MAJESTY to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*,

And at other places, ſince the beginning of this PARLIAMENT.

His Majeſties Speech to both Houſes at the firſt meeting, Novemb. 3. 1640.

My Lords,

THe knowledge I had of the Deſigns of my *Scotiſh Subjects*, was the cauſe of my calling the laſt aſſembly of Parliament, wherein had I been believed, I ſincerely think, that things had not fallen out as now we ſee. But it is no wonder that men are ſo ſlow to believe that ſo great a ſedition ſhould be raiſed on ſo little ground. But now my Lords, and Gentlemen, the honor and ſafety of this Kingdom lying ſo nearly at the ſtake; I am reſolved to put my ſelf freely and clearly on the love and affections of my *Engliſh Subjects*, as thoſe of my Lords that did wait on me at *York*, very well remember I there declared. Therefore my Lords, I ſhall not mention mine own intereſt, or that ſupport I might juſtly expect from you till the common ſafety be ſecured: though I muſt tell you, I am not aſhamed to ſay, thoſe charges I have been at, have been meerly for the ſecuring and good of this Kingdom, though the ſucceſs hath not

been answerable to my desires. Therefore I shall only desire you to consider the best way both for the safety and security of this Kingdom, wherein there are two parts chiefly considerable. First, the chasing out of the Rebels, And secondly, that other, in satisfying your just grievances, wherein I shall promise you to concur so heartily and clearly with you, that all the world may see my intentions have ever been, and shall be, to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom. There are onely two things more that I shall mention to you: The one is to tell you, that the Loan of money which I lately had from the City of *London*, wherein the Lords that waited on me at *York* assisted me, will onely maintain my Army for two moneths, from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now my Lords and Gentlemen, I leave it to your considerations, what dishonor and mischief it might be, in case for want of money my Army be disbanded, before the Rebels be put out of this Kingdom. Secondly, The securing the Calamities the Northern People endure at this time, and so long as the Treaty is on foot. And in this I may say, not onely they, but all this Kingdom will suffer the harm; therefore I leave this also to your consideration. For the ordering of these great affairs, whereof you are to treat at this time, I am so confident of your love to me, and that your care is such for the honor and safety of the Kingdom, that I shall freely and willingly leave to you where to begin: onely this, that you may the better know the estate of all the affairs, I have commanded my Lord Keeper to give you a short and free account of those things that have happened in this interim, with this Protestation; that if his account be not satisfactory as it ought to be, I shall, whensoever you desire, give you a full and perfect account of every particular. One thing more I desire of you, as one of

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the greatest means to make this a happy Parliament; that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspition one of another; as I promised my Lords at *York*, it shall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good Parliament.

His Majesties second Speech in the House of Lords November 5. 1640.

My Lords,

I do expect that you will hastily make Relation to the House of Commons, of those great affairs for which I have called you hither at this time, and of the trust I have reposed in them, and how freely I put my self on their love and affections at this time: and that you may know the better how to do so, I shall explaine my self concerning one thing I spake the last day. I told you the Rebels must be put out of this kingdom; 'tis true, I must needs tell them so, so long as they have an Army that do invade us, although I am under Treaty with them, and under my great Seal do call them Subjects, and so they are too. But the state of my affairs in short is this; its true, I did expect when I did will my Lords and great ones to be at *Yorke*, to have given a gracious answer to all your grievances; for I was in good hope by their wisedomes & assistances to have made an end of that businesse: but I must tell you, that my subjects of *Scotland* did so delay them, that it was not possible to end there: therefore I can no wayes blame my Lords that were at *Rippon*, that the Treaty was not ended; but must thank them for their pains and industry: and certainly, had they as much power as affections, I should by that time have brought these distempers to a hapy period; so that now the Treaty is transported from *Rippon* to *London*,

I shall conclude nothing without your knowledge, and I doubt not but by your approbation: for I do not desire to have this great work done in a corner; for I shall lay open all the steps of this mis-understanding, and the causes of the great differences between me and my Subjects of *Scotland*. And I doubt not but by your assistance to make them know their duty, and also by your assistance to make them return whether they will or no.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the Banqueting-house in White-hall January 25. 1640.

My Lords,

THe Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses; the principall cause of my comming here at this time, is by reason of the slow proceedings in Parliament, touching which is a great deal of inconvenience.

Therefore I think it very necessary to lay before you the state of my affairs as now they stand, thereby to hasten (not to interrupt) your proceedings.

First, I must remember you that there are two Armies in the Kingdom, in a manner maintained by you, the very naming of which, doth more cleerly shew the inconvenience thereof, than a better tongue than mine can expresse.

Therefore in the first place, I shall commend unto you the quick dispatch of that businesse, assuring you that it cannot rest upon me.

In the next place I must recommend unto you the state of my Navy and Forts; the condition of both which is so well known unto you, that I need not tell you the particulars, only thus much, they are the walls and defence of this Kingdom, which if out of order, all men may easily judge what encouragement

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it will be to our Enemies, and what disheartning to our Friends.

Last of all, (and not the least to be considered) I must lay before you the distractions that are at this present occasioned through the connivence of Parliament: for there are some men that more maliciously than ignorantly, will put no difference between Reformation, and alteration of Government.

Hence it commeth that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied. But I will enter into no more particulars, but shew you a way of remedy, by shewing you my clear intentions, and some Rocks that may hinder this good work.

I shall willingly and cheerfully concur with you for the Reformation of all innovations both in Church and Common-wealth; and consequently, that all Courts of Justice may be reformed according to Law. For my intention is cleerly to reduce all things to the best and purest times, as they were in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Moreover, whatsoever part of my Revenue shall be found illegall or heavy to my Subjects, I shall be willing to lay down, trusting in their Affections. Having thus clearly and shortly set down my intentions, I will shew you some rubs, & must needs take notice of some very strange (I know not what term to give them) Petitions given in the names of divers Counties, against the established government of the Church, and of the great threatnings against the Bishops, that they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least, their voices to be taken away.

If some of them have incroached too much upon the Temporalty (if it be so) I shall not be unwilling these things should be redressed and reformed, as all other abuses according to the wisedome of former times; so far I shall go with you, no further.

If upon serious debate you shall shew that Bishops have some Temporal Authority, not so necessary for the government of the Church, and upholding Episcopall jurisdiction, I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down; but this must not be understood, that I shall any way consent that their Voices in Parliament should be taken away: for in all the times of my Predecessors since the conquest, and before, they have enjoyed it, I am bound to maintain them in it, as one of the fundamentall constitutions of this Kingdom.

There is another Rock you are on, not in substance, but in form; and the form is so essentiall, that unlesse it be reformed, it will split you on that Rock.

There is a Bill lately put in concerning Parliaments. The thing I like well to have frequent Parliaments, but for the Sheriffs and Constables to use my Authority, I can no wayes consent unto.

But to shew that I desire to give you content in substance as well as in shew, you shall have a Bill for doing thereof, so that it do not trench neither against my honour, neither against the antient Prerogatives of the Crown concerning Parliaments. For I ingenuously confesse, often Parliaments is the fittest means to keep correspondency between mee and my people, that I do so much desire.

To conclude, now all that I have shewn you, the state of my affairs, my own clear intentions, and the Rocks I would have you shun.

To give you all contentment, you shall likewise find it by these Ministers, I have or shall have about me, for the effecting of these my good intentions, which shall redouble the peace of the Kingdom, and content you All. Concerning the conference, you shall have a direct answer on Monday, which shall give you satisfaction.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses, in Answer to a Remonstrance about Papists, &c. February 3. 1640.

HAving taken into my serious consideration the late Remonstrance made unto me by the House of Parliament, I give you this Answer.

That I take in good part your care of the true Religion established in this Kingdom, from which I will never depart; as also your tenderness of my safety, and the security of this State and Government. It is against my minde, that Popery or Superstition should any way increase within this Kingdom, I will restrain the same by causing the Laws to be put in execution.

I am resolved to provide against the Jesuits and Papists, by setting forth a Proclamation with all speed, commanding them to depart the Kingdom within one moneth; of which if they fail, or shall return, then they shall be proceeded against according to the Laws.

Concerning *Resettie*, I give you to understand, that the Queen hath always assured me, that to her knowledge he hath no Commission, but only to retain a personal Correspondence between her and the Pope, in things requisite for the exercise of her Religion, which is warranted to her by the Articles of Marriage, which gave her a full liberty of Conscience: Yet I have perswaded her, that since the mis-understanding of that persons condition gives offence, she will within a convenient time remove him.

Moreover, I will take a special care to restrain my Subjects from resorting to Mass at *Denmark* House, *St. James's*, and the Chappels of Ambassadors.

Lastly, concerning *John Goodman* the Priest, I will let you know the reason why I reprieved him, that as I am informed, neither Queen *Elizabeth*, nor my Father did

did ever avow, that any Priest in their times was executed meerly for Religion, which to me seems to be this particular case: yet seeing that I am pressed by both Houses, to give way to this, because I will avoid the inconveniency of giving so great discontent to my people, as I conceive this mercy may produce, therefore I do remit this particular case to both the Houses: But I desire them to take into their considerations, the inconveniencies (as I conceive) that may upon this occasion fall upon my Subjects, & other Protestants abroad; especially since it may seem to other States to be a severity; which having thus represented, I think my self discharged from all ill consequences that may ensue upon the execution of this person.

His Majesties Speech at the Passage of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments. Febr. 15. 1640.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, you may remember when both Houses were with me at the Banqueting house at *White-Hall*, I did declare unto you two Rocks I wished you to eschew, this is the one of them, and of that consequence, that I think never Bill passed here in this house of more favor to the Subjects than this is; and if the other Rock be as happily passed over, as this shall be at this time, I do not know what you can ask, for ought I can see, at this time, that I can make any question to yield unto: Therefore I mention this, to shew unto you the sense that I have of this Bill, and the Obligation, as I may say, that you have to me for it; for hitherto, to speak freely, I had no great encouragement to do it; if I should look to the outward face of your Actions or Proceedings, and not look to the inward Intentions of your hearts,

hearts, I might make queſtion of doing it.

Hitherto you have gone on in that which concerns your ſelves to amend, and not in thoſe things that neerly concern the ſtrength of this Kingdom, neither for the State, nor my own particular.

This I mention, not to reproach you, but to ſhew you the ſtate of things as they are, you have taken the Government all in pieces, and I may ſay, it is almoſt off the hinges.

A skilful Watchmaker, to make clean his Watch, will take it aſunder, and when it is put together, it will go the better, ſo that he leave forth then not one pin in it.

Now as I have done all this on my part, you know what to do on your parts, and I hope you ſhall ſee clearly that I have performed really what I expreſſed to you at the beginning of this Parliament, of the great truſt I have of your affections to me, and this is the great expreſſion of truſt, that before you do any thing for me, that I do put ſuch a confidence in you.

His Majeſties Speech to the Lords and Commons in the Banqueting-houſe at White-hall, *about diſbanding the Armies in Ireland and England, &c.* April 28. 1641.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, for anſwer to your deſires, I ſay,

Firſt, concerning the removal of Papiſts from Court, I am ſure you all know what legal truſt the Crown hath in this particular: and therefore I need not ſay any thing to give you aſſurance that I ſhall uſe it ſo, that there ſhall be no juſt cauſe of ſcandal.

Secondly, For diſarming of Papiſts, I am very well content it ſhall be done according to Law.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, for the Irish Army, you must understand, I am already upon consultation how to disband it, but I finde many difficulties in it: therefore I hold it not onely fit to wish it, but to shew the way how it may be conveniently done.

This is not all I desire: but since you have mentioned the disbanding of Armies, it is my duty to my Country to wish for disbanding of all Armies; and to restore the same Peace to all my three Kingdoms, that the King my Father did leave them in: And I conjure you, as you will answer the same to God, and to your Country, to joyn with me heartily and speedily for the disbanding of the two Armies in *England*. This is a very good time to speak of it, and there are but two ways to do it.

One is, to answer their Petitions; and the second is, to provide monies. You are Masters of the one, and with me you are Judges of the other. And you shall not be readier, nor so ready, to bring this to a happy conclusion, as I my self shall be.

His Majesties Speech in the Lords House, before he passed the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, May 1. 1641.

My Lords,

I Had no intention to speak of this business this day, which is the great business concerning my Lord of *Strafford*, because I would do nothing that might serve to hinder your occasions. But now it comes so to pass, that seeing of necessity I must have part in that Judgement, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein.

I am sure you all know, I have been present at the hearing of this business from the one end to the other.

And

And I must tell you, that in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this businesse, I am sure you will not expect that a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince.

Yet I must tell you three truthes, which I am sure no body can tell so well as my self.

1. That I never had any intention of bringing over the Irish Army, nor ever was advised by any body so to do.

2. There never was any debate before me, either in publique Councel, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspition of them.

3. That I never was counselled by any, to alter the least of any of the Lawes of *England*, much lesse to alter all the Lawes. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent, as to move me to it: For if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a marke upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.

I desire to be rightly understood: for though I tell you in my conscience, I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanours. Therefore I hope that you may find out a way to satisfie Justice, and your own fears, and not to presse my Conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender thing Conscience is: and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie the people, I would do great matters, but in this of Conscience, neither fear, nor any other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me go against it.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the passing of the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage. June 22. 1641.

I Do very willingly accept your offer made at this time as a testimony of your love, and beginning of your dutifull affections to me: and I no wayes doubt, but that you will perform that which you have intimated unto mee, and that in due time you will perform the rest, when you have leisure.

I do not doubt likewise, but that in passing this Bill you will see a testimony of the trust and confidence I have in your affections; as also that I omit no occasion whereby I may shew that affection to my people, that I desire my people would shew to me, as in this Parliament hitherto, no body can say but that I have sought occasions both to shew my affections unto them, and to remove disputes.

And therefore in this particular Bill, I hope you will know that I do freely and frankly give over the right that my Predecessours have ever challenged unto them (though I confesse disputed, but yet they did never yeeld in their times;) therefore you will understand this but a mark of my confidence to put my self wholly upon the Love and Affection of my people for my subsistence: And therefore I hope that in prosecution of this, you will go on as you have said; and that though you have rumours of jealousies and suspitions, by flying and idle discourses, that have come to my ears, concerning the extraordinary way, I confess I never understood it otherwise then as having relation to the Scottish Army, and preventing insurrection, which vanished as soon as they were borne.

And therefore now you see my clearnesse, I leave that to you, and will not meddle with it one way or other,

other, for I never had other designe, but to win the affections of my people by my justice in my Government.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the passing of the Bills for the taking away the High-Commission and Star Chamber, and regulating the Councell Table. July 5. 1641.

I Come to do the Office which I forbore to do on Saturday last, to give determination to these two Bills: But before I do it, I must tell you, that I cannot but be very sensible of those reports of discontent that I hear some have taken for not giving my consent on Saturday. Me thinks it seems strange, that any one should think, I could passe two Bills of that importance as these were, without taking some fit time to consider of them; for it is no less then to alter, in a great measure, those Fundamentall Lawes, Ecclesiasticall and civill, which many of my Predecessors have established.

If you consider what I have done this Parliament, discontent will not sit in your hearts, for I hope you remember, that I have granted, That the Judges hereafter shall hold their places, *quam diu se bene gesserint*, I have bounded the Forrests, not according to my right, but according to late Customes.

I have established the property of the Subjects, witnesse the free-giving, not taking away the Shipmoney.

I have established by Act of Parliament, the property of the Subject in Tonnage and Poundage, which never was done in any my Predecessours times: I have granted a Law for Trienniall Parliaments, and given way to an act for the securing of monies advanced for

the

the disbanding of the Armies; I have given free course of Justice against Delinquents; I have put the Law in execution against Papists.

Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have asked of me, and therefore me thinks you should not wonder, if in some things I begin to refuse. But I hope it shall not hinder your progresse in your great affairs, and I will not stick upon triviall matters, to give you content; I hope you are sensible of these beneficiall favours bestowed on you at this time.

To conclude. You know that by your consent, there is a prefixed time set for my going into *Scotland*, and there is an absolute necessitie for it, I do not know but that things may so fall out, that it may be shortned; therefore I hope you will hasten the dispatching of those great businesses that now are necessary to be done, and leave triviall and superficiall matters to another meeting.

For my part, I shall omit nothing that may give you just contentment, and study nothing more than your happiness, and thereof I hope you shall see a very good Testimony by passing these two Bills.

Le Roy le veult.

This being done, his Majesty said, as followeth.

I have one word more to speak to you, and I take now an occasion to present it unto both Houses, that thereby I hope all the World shall see, that there is a good understanding between me and my people.

It is concerning my Nephew the Prince Elector *Palatine*, who having desired me and the King of *Denmark* to give way to a writing concerning the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour, I could not but send my Ambassadour to assist him, though I am afraid I shall not have so good an answer as I expect, which my Nephew foreseeing hath desired me, for the better countenance of the same, to make a *Manifesto* in

My

My name, which is a thing of great consequence, and if I should do it alone, without the advice of my Parliament, it would rather be a scorn, than otherwise: therefore I do propose it unto you, that if you will advise me to it, I think it were very fit to be published in my Name.

His Majesties Speech to the Scotch Parliament at Edinburgh, August 19. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THere hath nothing been so displeasing to me, as those unlucky differences which have happened between me and my People, and nothing that I have more desired, then to see this day, wherein I hope, not only to settle these unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know and to be known of my native Countrey. I need not tell you, (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed through and overcome to be here at this present: yet this will I say, if love to my Native Countrey had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a Commission, which I am come to perform my self; and (this considered) I cannot doubt of such real testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that Royal Power, which I enjoy after 108 discents, and which you have professed to maintain, and to which your own National Oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think any pains ill bestowed. Now the end of my coming, is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised; and withal, to quiet the distractions which have and may fall out amongst you; and this I minde not superficially, but fully and cheerfully to perform: For I assure you that I can do nothing with more cheerfulness, then to give my people a general Satisfaction

faction: wherefore not offering to endeer my self unto you in words (which indeed is not my way) I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the Religion and just Liberties of this my Native Country before I proceed to any other Act.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses, after his return from Scotland, December 2. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Think it fit after so long absence, at this first occasion, to speak a few words unto you, but it is no ways in answer to Mr. Speakers learned Speech: Albeit I have staid longer then I expected to have done when I went away, yet in this I have kept my promise with you, that I have made all the haste back again, that the setling of my Scotch affairs could any ways permit; in which I have had so good success, that I will confidently affirm to you, that I have left that Nation a most peaceable and contented people; so that although I have a little misreckoned in time, yet I was not deceived in my end.

But if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of my return, yet I am assured that my expectation is as much and more deceived in the condition, wherein I hoped to have found some businesses at my return. For since that before my going, I setled the Liberties of my subjects, and gave the Law a free and orderly course, I expected to have found my people reaping the fruits of these benefits, by living in quietness, and satisfaction of minde; but instead of this, I finde them disturbed with Jealousies, Frights, and alarms of dangerous designs and plots; in consequence of which, Guards have been set to defend both Houses. I say not this as in doubt that my subjects affections are any way lessened to me in this time of my absence,

absence, for I cannot but remember, to my great comfort, the Joyful reception I had now at my entry into *London*, but rather as I hope that my presence will easily disperse these fears. For I bring as perfect and true affections to my people as ever Prince did, or as good subjects can possibly desire. And I am so far from repenting me of any act I have done this *Session* for the good of my people, that I protest if it were to do again *I* would do it, and will yet grant what else can be justly desired for satisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here established.

Now *I* have put one particular to recommend unto you at this time, it is *Ireland*, for which though *I* doubt not your care, yet me thinks the preparations for it go but slowly on. The occasion is the fitter for me now to mention it, because of the arrival of two Lords from *Scotland*, who come instructed from my Councel there (who now by Act of Parliament have full power for that purpose) to answer that Demand which it pleased both Houses to make of me by way of Petition, that met me at *Barwick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* sent back by my command to my *Scotch* Councel: therefore my desire is, that both houses would appoint a select Committee, to end this business with these Noblemen. *I* must conclude in telling you, that *I* seek my peoples happiness, for their flourishing is my greatest glory, and their affections my greatest strength.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses about Ireland, *and the Bill for pressing* Souldiers. Dec. 14. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THe last time that *I* was in this place, and the last thing that *I* recommended unto you, was the

buſineſs of *Ireland*, whereby *I* was in good hope that *I* ſhould not have needed again to have put you in mind of that buſineſs; but ſtill ſeeing the ſlow proceedings therein, and the dayly diſpatches that *I* have out of *Ireland* of the lamentable eſtate of my Proteſtant Subjects there, *I* cannot but again earneſtly recommend the diſpatch of that expedition unto you, for it is the chief buſineſs that at this time *I* take to heart, and there cannot (almoſt) be any buſineſs that *I* can have more care of. *I* might now take up ſome of your time in expreſſing my deteſtation of Rebellions in general, and of this in particular: but knowing that Deeds and not Declarations muſt ſuppreſs this great inſolency, *I* do here in a word offer you whatſoever my power, pains, or induſtry can contribute to this good and neceſſary work of reducing the *Iriſh* Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

And that nothing may be omitted on my part, *I* muſt here take notice of the Bill for preſſing of Souldiers, now depending among you my Lords, concerning which *I* here declare, that in caſe it come ſo to me, as it may not infringe or diminiſh my Prerogative, *I* will paſs it: and further, ſeeing there is a diſpute raiſed (*I* being little beholding to him whoſoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this antient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the Bill may paſs with a *ſalvo jure*, both for King and People, leaving ſuch debates to a time that may better bear it. *If* this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this Bill paſs not, but thoſe that refuſe ſo fair an offer.

To conclude, *I* conjure you by all that is or can be dear to you or me, that laying away all diſputes, you go on cheerfully and ſpeedily for the reducing of *Ireland*.

His Majesties Speech in the House of Commons, about the five Members, Jan. 4. 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you; yesterday I sent a Serjeant at Arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high Treason, whereunto I did expect Obedience, and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in *England*, shall be more careful of your Priviledges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, then I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of Treason, no person hath a priviledge, and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here; for I must tell you, Gentlemen, that so long as these persons (that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this house can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it: therefore I am come to tell you, that *I* must have them whereseoever *I* find them. Wel, sithence *I* see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me, as soon as they return hither: But I assure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend ane force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

And now sithence I see cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly; that whatsoever I have done in favor, and to the good of my Subjects, *I* do mean to maintain it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you, *I* do expect as soon as they do come to the House, you will send them to me, otherwise *I* must take my own course to finde them.

His Majesties Speech at Guild-hall, about the five Members, Jan. 5. 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Am come to demand such Prisoners as I have already attainted of High Treason, and do believe they are shrouded in the City, I hope no good man will keep them from me, their offences are Treason, and misdemeanors of an high nature: I desire your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legal Tryal.

And whereas there are divers suspicions raised, that I am a favorer of the Popish Religion, I do profess in the name of a King, that I did and ever will, and that to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall any ways oppose the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, either Papist or Separatist; and not onely so, but I will maintain and defend that true Protestant Religion which my Father did profess, and I will still continue in, during life.

His Majesties Speech at Theobalds, *at the delivery of the Petition for the Militia.* March 1. 1641.

I Am so amased at this Message, that I know not what to answer: You speak of Jealousies and Fears, Lay your hands to your hearts, and ask your selves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with Fears and Jealousies: and if so, I assure you this Message hath nothing lessened them.

For the *Militia*, I thought so much of it before I sent that Answer, and am so much assured that the

Answer

Answer is agreeable to what in Justice or Reason you can ask, or I in Honor grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

For my residence near you, I wish it might be so safe and honorable, that I had no cause to absent my self from *White-Hall*, Ask your selves whether I have not?

For my Son, I shall take that care of him, which shall justifie me to God as a Father, and to my Dominions as a King.

To conclude, I assure you upon my Honor, that I have no thought but of Peace and Justice to my people, which I shall by all fair means seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodness and providence of God, for the preservation of My Self and Rights.

His Majesties Speech at New-market, *to the Earl of* Holland, Pembroke, *and the rest of the Committee that presented the Declaration,* March 9. 1641.

I Am confident that you expect not I should give you a speedy Answer to this strange and unexpected Declaration: And I am sorry (in the distractions of this Kingdom) you should think this way of Address to be more convenient, then that proposed by my Message of the 20 of *January* last to both Houses.

As concerning the grounds of your Fears and Jealousies, I will take time to answer particularly; and doubt not but I shall do it to the satisfaction of all the World. God, in his good time, will, I hope, discover the secrets and bottoms of all Plots and Treasons, and then I shall stand right in the eyes of all my people, In the mean time, I must tell you,

That *I* rather expected a Vindication for the imputation laid on me in Master *Pyms* speech, then that any more general Rumors and discourses should get credit with you.

For my Fears and Doubts, *I* did not think they should have been thought so groundless or trivial, while so many seditious Pamphlets and Sermons are looked upon, and so great Tumults are remembred, unpunished, uninquired into: *I* still confess my Fears, and call God to witness, that they are greater for the true Protestant profession, my People, and Laws, then for my own Rights or Safety; though *I* must tell you, I conceive that none of these are free from danger.

What would you have? Have *I* violated your Laws? Have I denied to pass any one Bill for the ease and security of my Subjects? *I* do not ask you what you have done for Me?

Have any of my People been transported with Fears and Apprehensions? *I* have offered as free and general a Pardon, as your selves can devise. All this considered, There is a Judgement from Heaven upon this Nation, if these Distractions continue.

God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and for the Observation and Preservation of the Laws of this Land: And, *I* hope, God will bless and assist those Laws for my preservation.

As for the Additional Declaration, you are to expect an Answer to it when you shall receive the Answer to the Declaration it self.

Some passages that hapned the 9th. of March, between the Kings Majesty, and the Committee of both Houses, when the Declaration was Delivered.

WHen his Majesty heard that part of the Declaration which mentioned Master *Jermins* Transportation, his Majesty interrupted the Earl of *Holland* in reading, and said, That's false. Which being afterwards toucht upon again, his Majesty then said, 'Tis a lie. And when he was informed, it related not to the date, but the Execution of the Warrant, his Majesty said, it might have been better expressed then, and that it was a high thing to taxe a King with breach of promise. As for this Declaration, his Majesty said, *I* could not have believed the Parliament would have sent me such an one, if *I* had not seen it brought by such persons of honour. *I* am sorry for the Parliament, but glad *I* have it. For by that *I* doubt not to satisfie my people; though *I* am confident, the greater part is so already.

Ye speak of ill Counsels, but *I* am confident the Parliament hath had worse informations, than *I* have had Counsels. His Majesty asking what he had denied the Parliament, the E. of *Holland* instanced that of the *Militia*, his Majesty replyed, that was no Bill: the Earl of *Holland* then said, it was a necessary request at this time; & his Majesty also then said, he had not denied it.

What passed the next day when his Majesty delivered his Answer.

WHich was read by the Earl of *Holland* to the rest of the Committee. And that being done, his

his Lordship endeavoured to perswade his Majesty to come near the Parliament. Whereunto his Majesty answered, *I* would you had given me cause, but *I* am sure this Declaration is not the way to it. And in all *Aristotles Rhetoricks* there is no such argument of Perswasion. The Earl of *Pembroke* thereupon telling him that the Parliament had humbly besought his Majesty to come near them, as aforesaid, his Majesty replyed; he had learnt by our Declaration that words were not sufficient. His Majesty being then again moved by the Earl of *Pembroke* to express what he would have: said, he would whip a Boy in *Westminster* Schoole that could not tell that by his Answer. And further said, they were much mistaken, if they thought his Answer of that, a denial. And being also asked by the said Earl of *Pembroke*, Whether the *Militia* might not be granted, as was desired by the Parliament, for a time: his Majesty answered, not for an hour: you have askt that of me in this, was never askt of a King, and with which *I* will not trust my Wife and Children.

His Majesty said the business of Ireland *will never be done in the way that you are in, Foure hundred will never do that work. It must be put into the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I will pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a Beggar my self, yet (speaking with a strong asseverarion) I can finde money for that.*

His Majesties speech to the Sheriffe, Ministers, Gentry, &c. of Yorkshire, when they presented their Petition. April 5. 1642.

Mr. Sheriffe, and Gentlemen,

I Believe you expect not a present and particular Answer to your Petition, because it is new to me: Only

Only in general I must tell you. That I see by it, that *I* am not deceived in the Confidence I have in the affections of this County to my Person and State; and I assure you that *I* will not deceive your confidence, which at this time you have declared in your Petition to have in me: and I am glad to see that it is not upon mistaken grounds, as other Petitions have been to me since I came to this place: concerning which, let me observe unto you, that my Answers were to clear those mistakings; for *I* never did go about to punish or discourage them from Petitioning to me in an humble way, though the subject did not agree with my sense; Albeit within the memory of man, people have been discouraged and threatned to be punished for Petitions.

I observe that your Petition is so modest, that it doth not mention any particular for your own good; which indeed *I* expected, as knowing that in some particulars you have great reason to do: and therefore that you may not fare the worse for you modesty, I will put you in mind of three particulars, which *I* conceive to be for the good of this Country.

The first is concerning your Trained Bands, to reduce them to a lesser number, for which, *I* confess to stand ingaged by promise to you, which *I* had performed long since, if *I* had been put in mind of it: And now *I* tell you, shew me but the way, and (when you shall think fit) *I* shall instantly reduce them to that number, which *I* promised you two yeares ago.

The second is, That which is owing to this County for Billet-money; the truth is, that for the present I cannot repay it: Onely *I* will say this, That if all the water had gone to the right Mill, (upon my word) you had been long agoe satisfied in this particular. And so I leave to your discretions which way you will

will advise, and assist me to comply with the engagements to you in this point.

The third is, That for which I was petitioned as I came up the last year, both by the Lord Maior and Aldermen of this City, and likewise by divers others of this County, as I went Southward; and that is concerning the Court of *Yorke*: And first let me tell you, that as yet I know no legal dissolution of it, for hitherto formally, there is nothing come to me, either directly or indirectly, for the taking of it away: therefore I may say, it is rather shaken in pieces than dissolved. Now my desire is in compliance to what I answered the last year, unto the several Petitions delivered to me upon this Subject, that you would consult and agree among your selves in what manner you would have the Court established most to your own contentments, & to the good of al these Nothern parts, in such a legal way, as that it may not justly be excepted against, and I assure you in the word of an honest man, that you shall not blame me, if you have not full satisfaction in it.

Within a day or two ye shall have a particular Answer to your Petition, which shall be such an one as I am confident will give you good satisfaction, and put you into such a way, as, I hope, may produce good effects to the good of all this Kingdom.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentry of Yorkeshire attending his Majestie at Yorke. May the twelfth, 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Have cause of adding, not altering, what I meant to say, when I gave out the Summons for this days appearance, I little thought of these Messengers, or of

of such a Message as they brought, the which because it confirms me in what I intend to speak; and that *I* desire you should be truly informed of all Passages between me and the Parliament, you shall hear read. First, my Answer to the Declaration of both Houses concerning *Hull*; the Answer of the Parliament to my two Messages concerning *Hull*, together with my Reply to the same; and my Message to both Houses, declaring the Reasons why *I* refused to pass the Bill concerning the *Militia*.

All which being read, his Majesty proceeded.

I will make no Paraphrases upon what ye have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer then a King, onely this Observation, since Treason is countenanced so near me, it is time to look to my safety: *I* avow, it was part of my wonder, that men (whom *I* thought heretofore discreet and moderate) should have undertaken this imployment, and that since they came (*I* having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the Parliament) should have flatly disobeyed me upon pretence of the Parliaments Command. My end in telling you this, is to warn you of them; for since these men have brought me such a Message, and disobeyed so lawful a Command; *I* will not say what their intent of staying here is, onely *I* bid you take heed, not knowing what Doctrine of Disobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying the Parliament. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enjoying of which was a chief cause of my coming hither (tumults and disorders having made me leave the South) and not to make this a seat of War, as Malice would (but *I* hope in vain) make you believe: Now if disturbances come, *I* know whom *I* have reason to suspect.

To be short, you see that my Magazine is going to be

be taken from me (being my own proper Goods) directly against my will; the *Miiltia* (against Law and my consent) is going to be put in execution. And lastly, Sir *John Hothams* Treason is countenanced: All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend dangers. Therefore I have thought fit (upon these real grounds) to tell you, that I am resolved to have a guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary Jealousies) onely to secure my person. In which I desire your concurrence and assistance, and that I may be able to protect you, the Laws, and the true Protestant profession from any affront or Injury that may be offered, which I mean to maintain my self without charge to the Countrey, intending not longer to keep them on foot, then I shall be secured of my just apprehentions, by having satisfaction in the particulars before mentioned.

His Majesties Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Free-holders of the County of Notingham, *at* Newark, July 4. 1642.

Gentlemen,

YOur honest Resolutions and Affections to Me and your Countrey, for the defence of my Person and the Laws of the Land, have been, and are so notable, that they have drawn me hither onely to thank you: I go to other places to confirm and undeceive my Subjects, but am come hither onely to thank and encourage you. You have made the best Judgement of happiness, by relying on that Foundation, which the experience of so many hundred years hath given such proof of; The assurance and security of the Law: and assure your selves, when Laws shall be altered by any other Authority, then that by

by which they were made, your foundations are destroyed: and though it seems at first but to take away my power, it will quickly swallow all your Interest: I ask nothing of you (though your demeanor gives me good evidence that you are not willing to deny) but to preserve your own affections to the Religion and Laws established; I will justifie and protect those affections, and will live and die with you in that quarrel.

His Majesties Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Free-holders of the County of Lincoln, *at* Lincoln. July 15. 1642.

Gentlemen,

IF I could have suspected your Affections, or have censured the duty of this County by some late Actions in it, I should not have taken this pains to have given you a testimony of my affection to you, and to remove those Objections, which being raised by a Malignant party, may, by their cunning and industry, get credit even with hdnest mindes. The truth is, I come to you, to assure you of my purposes and resolutions, for the defence of what ever is and should be dear unto you, your Religion, your Liberty, your Common Interest, and the Laws of the Land: and to undeceive you of that opinion, which I hear hath misled many of you, that the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia* is warranted by my Consent and Authority. As I have already informed you, by my several Declarations and Messages, that the same is against the known Law, and an invasion of my unquestionable Right, and of your Liberty and Property, so I do now declare unto you, that the same is imposed upon you against my Express Consent, and in contempt

contempt of my Regal Authority: and therefore, whosoever shal henceforth presume to execute or obey the same, I shall proceed against them, as against such who promote Rebellion, and actually levy War against me: and I doubt not, but you will sadly consider, that if any Authority without & against my Consent, may lawfully impose such burthens upon you; it may likewise take away all that you have from you, and subject you to their lawless Arbitrary power and Government: And how far they are like to exercise that Jurisdiction towards you, you may guess by the insolence of Sir *John Hotham* at *Hull*, who (being a Subject) not onely presumes to keep his Soveraign, by force of Arms out of his Town, but murthers his fellow Subjects, imprisons them, burns their Houses, drowns their Land, takes them Captive, and commits such Outrages and Acts of Hostility, as the most unequal and Outragious Enemies practice in any Countrey; that you may see how impossible it is for your Liberties and Properties to be preserved, when your King is Oppressed, and his just Rights taken from him. Who hath brought these Calamities upon your Neighbors at *Hull*, every man sees, and they onely can bring the same upon you. I will not believe you to be so insensible of the benefits you have received from me, that I need put you in minds of the Gracious Acts passed by me this Parliament on your behalfs: and if there be any thing wanting to the making you the happiest Subjects in the World; I am sure it is not my fault, that you have not that too. Be not deceived with words and general expressions; it is not in your power to name one particular, which might make you happy, that I have refused to Grant: Be not frighted with Apprehensions, that this Countrey is like to be the seat of War; the seat of a War will be onely where persons rise in

Rebellion

Rebellion against me; that will not, *I* hope, be here, and then you shall be sure of my protection. *I* will live and die in your defence. And that you may be in a readiness, and a posture to defend your selves, and me against any *Invasion* or Rebellion, *I* have armed several persons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation amongst you, & of your own Country, with a Commission of Array to that purpose. There is no honest end declared in that Ordinance, which is not provided for by this Commission, which being according to the old known Law, is fit for your obedience, and *I* doubt not but you will finde it.

In a word, *I* assure you, upon the Faith and Honour of a Christian King, *I* will be alwayes as tender of any thing which may advance the true Protestant Religiō, protect and preserve the Laws of the Land, and defend the just priviledge and freedom of Parliament, as of my Life, or my Crown: and when *I* fail in either of these, *I* will not look for your assistance; till then you are concerned not to see me suffer.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of Leicester, *at* Leicester, July 20. 1642.

Gentlemen,

SInce *I* have found my presence so very acceptable amongst my good Subjects in these Northern parts, and that the Errors and mistakes amongst them, have wholly proceeded from mis-information, and are removed with more satisfaction and ease to them than they were received; *I* hold it a piece of my duty, to take the utmost pains *I* can, fully to inform and undeceive my people; and rather to prevent Crimes, than to punish them: in this Errand

I am come to you, amongst whom there hath not been the least misunderstanding, to shew you, that I do not suspect any malice in the place, or in the people though persons of as ill dispositions have been busie in it, and amongst you, as in any County in *England*, and such who have taken as great pains to do mischief, and to bring Confusion, as good men should for peace and happiness: Though tis as true that very many worthier persons amongst you have appeared of contrary affections, which I shall always acknowledge. *I* am come to you in a time too, when nothing could invite me to such a journey, but my affection to, and good esteem of you; having sent such Propositions, of Peace and accommodation to my two Houses of Parliament, that *I* hope to have no other use of your affections, but in your prayers; being sure they will submit to them with alacrity, if the unexcusable enimies to the peace of the kingdom be not strong enough to prevail: And then you will find your selves so much concerned (for *I* have required nothing that with more justice can be denied me (if it be duly weighed) than my Crown, or my Life may be taken from me) that *I* shall not need to ask your assistance: *I* know you will bring horse, men, money, and hearts worthy such a Cause. Your Religion, your Liberties, your Laws (which *I* will defend with my life, *I* mean the good known Laws of the Land, not Ordinances without my consent, which til within these twelve months was never heard of from the foundation of this kingdom) will be the Quarrel: and in such a cause, the taking away my Towns, Ships, Arms, and Money from me, shall not dishearten me: the concurrence and affection of my people with Gods blessing will supply and recover all.

His

His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen of Yorkeshire, August, 4. 1642.

Gentlemen,

WHen I directed that summons should be sent out for your meeting here this day, my principall end was, That I might give you thanks for the great forwardnesse and expressions you have made of your affections to me since I came into this Countrey, and to assure you, That as the whole Kingdom hath great reason to value you exceedingly for it, so I shall be ever unsatisfied with my Self, till I have found some way to fix a mark of favour and estimation upon this County, and this people, which may tell posterity, how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen; and I am confident the memory of it will grow up with my Sons too, in a just acknowledgement. This was the most I intended to say to you, but there is an unquiet spirit abroad, which every day throws in new accidents to disturb and confound the publick peace. How I was driven from *London*, when I chose this place for my safety, is so notorious, that all men know it, who know any thing; with what strange violence and indignities I have been pursued, since I came hither, needs no other Evidence, than Sir *John Hothams* behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that insolence, that he will not suffer his Treason to be longer confined within those walls, but makes sallies out of the Town upon his fellow Subjects, drowns their Land, burnes and plunders their Houses, murthers, and with unheard of cruelty, torments their persons; And this with so much delight, that he would not have the patience to wait what Answer should be sent to my just Demands, though in that respect I engaged my

Self to forbear to use any force, and kept my word; but chose the night before that came, (as if he knew well what answer I was to receive) to act those Outrages.

Yet see the sad effects of Fears and Jealousies, the miseries they have produced; No man can tell you the least good they have brought forth, or the least evill they have prevented: What inconvenience and burthen my presence hath been here, what disturbance it hath brought upon the publick, or grievance upon any private person, your selves are best judges: And whatever scandall some men have pleased to cast upon the Cavaliers (which they intend should reach all my Retinue, and by degrees shall involve all Gentlemen) I am confident, there hath not been any eminent disorder or dammage befallen any Man, by any person of my Train, or under my protection.

I am sure my directions have been very strict in that point, and if they had not been observed, I think I should have heard of it by neerer complaints, then from *London*; I pray God the same care may be taken there: I am sure it hath not been. And to give you the fullest testimony of my affection to you, and to the peace of this County, and to shew you that no provocation shall provoke me to make this place to be the seat of the War, I have for your sakes, passed over the considerations of Honour, & notwithstanding the reproaches every day laid on me, laid no siege to that place, that they may not have the least pretence of doing you mischief, but resolve by Gods help to recover *Hull* some other way, for that I will ever sit down under so bold and unexcusable a treason no honest man can imagine. But it seems other Men are not of my minde, but resolve to make a War at your own doors, whatsoever you do, or I suffer. To what purpose else is their new Generall armed with

an

an authority, to kill and destroy all my good Subjects? their levies of Horse and Foot, some whereof are upon their march towards you, with Cannon mounted? and the sending so many new souldiers into *Hull*, when there is no approach made towards it, but to sally out, and to commit Rapine; and by degrees to pour out an Army upon you? In this I must ask your advice, what you would do for your selves, and what you would have me do for you: you see how I am stript of my Navy at Sea, which is imployed against me; of my Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed men to destroy me; my money and provisions of my House taken from me, and all my Subjects forbid and threatned if they come neer me, that I may by Famine or solitarinesse be compelled to yeeld to the most dishonourable Propositions, and to put my Self and Children into the hands of a few Malignant persons, who have entred into a Combination to destroy Us: And all this done under pretence of a trust reposed by the people. How farre you are from committing any such trust, most of the persons trusted by you, and your own expressions of duty to me, hath manifested to all the World; and how farre the whole Kingdome is from avowing such a trust, hath already in a great measure, and I doubt not will more every day appear, by the professions of every County: for I am wholly cast upon the affections of my people, and have no hope but in the blessing and assistance of God, the justnesse of my cause, and the love of my Subjects, to recover what is taken from me and them, for I may justly say, they are equall losers with me.

Gentlemen, I desire you to consider what course is to be taken for your own security from the excursions from *Hull*, and the violence which threatens you from thence: I will assist you any way you propose.

Next I desire you, out of the publick provision, or your private store, to furnish me with such a number of Arms (Musquets and Corslets) as you may conveniently spare, which I do promise to see fully repaid to you: These Arms I desire may be speedily delivered to the custody of my Lord *Maior* of *Yorke*, for my use principally for those parts, which by reason of their distance from *Hull*, are least subject to the feare of violence from thence.

And whosoever shall so furnish me, shall be excused from their attendance and service at Musters, till their Arms shall be restored, which may well be sooner than I can promise, or you expect. I desire nothing of you but what is necessary to be done for the preservation of Gods true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very being of this Kingdom of *England*; for 'tis too evident all these are at stake.

For the compleating my Sons Regiment for the guard of his Person under the command of my Lord of *Cumberland*, I refer it wholly to your selves, who have expressed such forwardnes in it.

His Majesties Speech and Protestation in the Head of His Army, between Stafford *and* Wellington, *after the reading of His Orders.* Septemb 19. 1642.

Gentlemen,

YOu have heard these Orders read; It is your part in your severall plrces to observe them exactly: the time cannot be long before we come to Action, therefore you have the more reason to be carefull: And I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who

who transgresse these instructions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Lawes of the Land; you shall meet with no enemies, but Traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists, such who desire to destoy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruine for being Loyall to Us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your Valour, if it please God to blesse it with successe, I have thought fit to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation, which when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrell, in which I promise to live and dye with you.

His Majesties Protestation.

I Do promise in the presence of Almighty GOD, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintain *The true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in the Church of England*; And by the Grace of God in the same will live and die.

I desire to govern by the *known Lawes of the Land*, and that *the Liberty and Property of the Subject* may be by them preserved with the same care, as my own just Rights. And if it please God, by his blessing upon this Army raised for my necessary Defence, to preserve me from this Rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of GOD, to maintain *the just Priviledges and Freedom of Parliament*, and to govern by *the known Lawes of the Land* to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably *the Lawes consented to by Me this Parliament*. In the

mean while, if this time of War, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of *the Peace of this Kingdom.*

When *I* willingly fail in these particulars, *I* will expect no aid or relief from any Man, or protection from Heaven: But in this resolution *I* hope for the cheerfull assistance of all good men, and am confident of Gods blessing.

His Majesties Speech to the Inhabitants of Denbigh *and* Flint, *at* Wrexham, Sept. 27. 1642.

Gentlemen,

I Am willing to take all occasions to visit all my good Subjects, in which number *I* have cause to reckon you of these two Counties, and having lately had a good expression of your Loyalty and Affections to me, by those Levies which at your charge have been sent me from your parts (which forwardnesse of yours, *I* shall alwayes remember to your advantage) and to let you know how *I* have been dealt with by a powerfull Malignant party in this Kingdome, whose designes are no lesse than to destroy my Person and Crown, the Laws of the Land, and the present Government both of Church and State. The Leaders of these men by their subtilty and cunning practises have so prevailed upon the meaner sort of people about *London*, that they have called them up into frequent and dangerous Tumults, and thereby have chased from thence my Self, and the greatest part of the Members of both Houses of Parliament; their power and secret Plots have had such influence upon the small

small remaining part of both Houses, that under colour of Orders and Ordinances made without the Royall assent (a thing never heard of before this Parliament) I am rob'd and spoiled of my Towns, Forts, Castles, and Goods; my Navy forcibly taken from me, and imployed against me; all my Revenues stopt and seized upon, and at this time a powerfull Army is marching against me. I wish this were all; They have yet further laboured to alienate the affections of my good people, they have most injuriously vented many false reproaches against my Person and Government, they have dispersed in print many notorious false scandalls upon my actions & intentions, and in particular have laboured to cast upon me some aspersions concerning the horrid, bloody, and impious Rebellion in *Ireland*. They tell the people that I have recalled two Ships appointed for the guard of these Seas; 'tis true: but they conceal, that at the same time I sent my Warrants to the *Downs*, commanding four as good ships to attend that service in stead of those should be recalled, which Warrant by their means could not find obedience. They forget that then they imployed fourty ships (many of them my own, and all of them set forth at the publick charge of this and that Kingdom,) to rob and pillage me of my goods, to chase my good Subjects, and maintain my own Town of *Hull* against me. And that by the absence of those ships from the *Irish* Seas, the Rebels have had opportunity to bring store of Arms, Ammunition, and supplyes to their succours (to which we may justly impute the calamities, which have overwhelmed my poor Protestant Subjects there.) They cry out upon a few suits of clothes appointed (as they say) for *Ireland*, which some of my Forces took, but conceal that they were taken as entring into *Coventry* (then in open rebellion against me)

me) where I had reason to believe they would have been disposed of amongst their Souldiers who then bore arms against me: they talk of a few horses which I have made use of for my Carriages (concealing that they were certified to be useless for the service of *Ireland*) when they themselves have seized 100000. pounds particularly appointed by Act of Parliament for the relief of *Ireland* (where my Army is ready to perish for want of it) and imployed it (together with such part of the 400000 l. subsidy as they have received) to maintain an unnaturall Civill War at home. Neither have they used their fellow Subjects better then they have done me their King. By their power the Law of the Land (your birth-right) is trampled upon, and in stead thereof they govern my people by Votes and arbitrary Orders. Such as will not submit to their unjust unlimited power are imprisoned, plundred, and destroyed; such as will not pay such exactions as they require towards this rebellion are threatned to be put out of Protection (as they call it) of the Parliament; such as conscienciously remember their duty and loyalty to Me their Soveraigne are reviled, persecuted, and declared Traytors; such as do desire to maintain the true Protestant Religion, as it is established by the Laws of the Land, are traduced, and called Popish and Superstitious: And on the contrary, such as are known Brownists, Anabaptists, and publick depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, are countenanced and encouraged. They exact & receive Tonnage and Poundage, and other great duties upon Merchandizes, not onely without Law, but in the face of an Act of Parliament to the contrary past this present Parliament, which puts all men into the condition of a *Præmunire* that shall presume so to oppresse the people. If you desire to know who are the contrivers of these wicked designes, you shall finde some of their

names

names in particular, and their actions at large in my Declaration of the 12 of *August* (to which I shall refer you) I wish their craft and power were not such, that few of those copies can come to the view of my good peoole; since that time these men so thirst after the destruction of this Kingdom, that they have prevailed to make all my offers of Treaty (which might bring Peace to this Kingdom, and beget a good understanding between me and my Parliament) fruitless. In this distresse into which these men have brought me and this Kingdom, my confidence is in the protection of Almighty God, and the affections of my good people; and that you may clearly see what my resolutions are, I shall cause my voluntary Protestation lately taken to be read to you. And I desire that the Sheriffs of these two Counties will dispose copies of that and what I now deliver unto you, having no other way to make it publick; these men having restrained the use of my Presses at *London*, and the Universities.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the County of Salop, *at* Shrewesbury, September 28. 1642.

Gentlemen,

IT is some benefit to Me, from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdom, and to so faithfull a part of my people; I hope neither you nor *I* shall repent my coming hither, I will do my part that you may not, and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place, and mine may carry

carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robbed and spoiled of all my own, and such terrour used to fright and keep all men from supplying me) *I* must onely live upon the aide and relief of my people; but be not afraid: *I* would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the insolence and Violence of that Army raised against me (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) than you shall do by mine; and yet *I* fear *I* cannot prevent all disorders: *I* will do my best, and this ile promise you, no man shall be a loser by me, if I can help it.

I have sent hither for a Mint; I will melt down all my own Plate, and expose all my Land to Sale or Morgage, that, if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you: In the mean time, I have summoned you hither, to invite you to doe that for me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men do against Us. Doe not suffer so good a cause to be lost for want of supplying me with that which will be taken from you, by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilst these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost Industry to destroy the Common-wealth, be you no lesse liberall to preserve it: Assure your selves if it please God to blesse me with successe, I shall remember the Assistance every particular man here gives me, to his Advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the mindes of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, that with some charge, and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdom.

I desire Master Sheriffe, and the rest of the Gentlemen, to distribute themselves in that method, that they

they may best receive the expresions which you shall make of your affections, the which I will have particularly represented to Me.

His Majesties Speech to the Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Oxon, *at* Oxford, Novemb. 2. 1642.

Gentlemen,

THough you see my Army marching from hence, I doe not intend to leave you, my Residence shall be so near, that my power shall have an influence upon this place (of which I will besides take a particular care) for your protection, therefore feare not to expresse your affections to Me with that courage which becomes you: I know how, and by whom the Countrey hath been awed, but I hope no man shall have more power to fright you from your Loyalty, than I have to restore you to it; and I shall guesse by the evidence of this day at your naturall dispositions. In assisting me, you defend your selves, for believe it, the Sword which is now drawn against Me, will destroy you, if I defend you not. I have, and will venture my life for yõu, 'twill be a shame for you to venture nothing. Whatsoever you shall be willing freely to contribute, I will take kindly of you, and whatsoever you shall lend me, I will in the word of a King see justly repayed to you.

I appoint the Sheriffe to receive such money or Plate as you (Gentlemen) shall be willing to assist me with and to return their names to me: And you of the Clergy shall repair to Mr. Vice-Chancellour, who shall do the like, and I expect that you should advance this Service throughout the Countrey, and

return

return your Collections suddenly to me by the hand of the Sheriffe. And I assure you I shall take especiall notice of such who shall be backward in this time of so visible necessity.

His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at Oxford, January, 22. 1643.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

WHen I consider your publick Interests and Concernments in the happinesse and honour of this Nation, and your particular sufferings in this Rebellion, for your affection and Loyalty to me; I must look upon you as the most competent Considerers and counsellours how to mannage and improve the Condition We are all in; for sure our Condition is so equall, that the same violence hath oppressed us all.

I have therefore called you together to be witnesses of my Actions, and privy to my Intentions; and certainly if I had the least thought, disagreeing with the happinesse and security of this Kingdom, I would not advise with such Counsellours, and I doubt not but your concurrence with Me will so far prevail over the hearts and understandings of this whole Kingdom, (who must look upon you as persons naturally and originally trusted by and for them) that it will be above the reach and malice of those who have hitherto had too great an influence upon the people, to discredit my most intire Actions, and sincere Promises; you will be the best witnesses for the one, and security for the other.

Very many of you can bear Me witnesse with what unwillingnesse I suffered My Self first to take up these defensive

defensive Arms; indeed with so great, that I was first almost in the power of those who in two set Battels, have sufficiently informed the World how tender they have been of the safety of my Person. I foresaw not onely the rage and oppression which would every day break out upon my Subjects, as the malice of these ill men increased, and their purposes were detected; but also the great inconveniences My best Subjects would suffer even by my own Army, raised and kept for their preservation and protection; for I was not so ill a Souldier, as not to foresee how impossible it was to keep a strict discipline, I being to struggle with so many defects and necessities: and I assure you the sense I have of their sufferings, who deserve well of me, by My Forces, hath been a greater grief to Me than any thing for my own particular. My hope was, that either by successe on My part, or Repentance on theirs, God would have put a short end to this great storm. But guilt and despair have made these men more wicked, than I imagine they at first intended to be: for in stead of removing and reconciling these bloody distractions, and restoring Peace to this languishing Countrey, they have invited a Forreign power to invade this Kingdom, and that in your names, and challenge this invasion from them as a debt to the Common-wealth. You (My Lords) have, like your selves (as good *Patriots*) expressed your dissent, and vindicated your selves from that imputation: and I doubt not but you (Gentlemen) will let your Countries know how farre you are from desiring such assistance, and how absolute & peremptory a breach this raising of Arms of my *Scots* subjects is of that pacification, which was so lately and solemnly made by you, and can intend nothing but a conquest of you and your Laws. I shall send you all the advertisements I have of that business which is threatned

ed from *Scotland*, and what is already acted from thence; and shall desire your speedy advice and assistance what is to be said or done, both with reference to this, and that Kingdom.

Our ends being the same, I am sure there will be no other difference in the way, than what upon debate and right understanding will be easily adjusted. Let our Religion (in which We are all most nearly concerned, and without care of which We must not look for Gods blessing) be vindicated and preserved; Let My Honour and Rights (which you finde to have an inseparable relation with your own interests) be vindicated and restored; Let your Liberties, Properties, Priviledges, (without which I would not be your King) be secured and confirmed, and there is nothing you can advise Me to, I will not meet you in; and I doubt not but We shall together inform Posterity, how much our trust and confidence in each other, is a better expedient for the Peace and preservation of the Kingdom, than Fears and jealousies.

I shall keep you no longer from consulting together in telling you, that I have prepared fit places for your Meetings, to which I desire you to repair this night; assuring you, that I will be alwayes ready to receive any thing from you, admitting you to me, or coming to you my Self, whensoever you shall desire. And so God direct you the best way.

His Majesties Speech and Protestation, before his receiving the holy Eucharist, at Christ's Church *in* Oxford, 1643.

His Majesty being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Arch-Bishop of Armagh, *used these publick Expressions, immediately before his receiving the blessed Elements; He rose up from his knees, and beckning to the Arch-Bishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.*

MY Lord, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver: And may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty, in the happy days of Queen *Elizabeth*, without any connivance at Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these publick distractions, I have still liberty to communicate: And may this Sacrament be my damnation, if my Heart do not joyn with my Lips in this Protestation.

His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Houses at Oxford, Feb. 7. 1643.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have hardly thus long forborn to give you thanks for the care and pains you have taken for the publick safety since your coming together. And first, I

thank you for your inclination to peace. to which as my willingness of complying shewed the constancy of my endeavours in the best way for the publick good, so the Rebels by their scornfully rejecting your Overtures (as they have done heretofore mine) have shewed their constancy in their way.

Next, I must thank every one of you for so cheerful applying your selves to the maintenance and Recruting of my Army, which I hope God will so bless, that thereby these Enemies of peace shall have their due reward. And truly (my Lords and Gentlemen) this alacrity of yours for providing for my Army, doth please me in no consideration so much, as that it is the best way for peace; for certainly this strange arrogancy of refusing to Treat with you, can proceed from nothing but their contempt of Our Forces. But it is your present Honour, and will be more to posterity, that God hath made you instruments to defend your Soveraign, and to preserve your Countrey; to see that Religion and Law to flourish which you have rescued from the violence of Rebellion; for which I hope in time to recompence every one of you: but if I shall not, here is one I hope will, in which he shall but perform my commands. For I have no greater sadness for those who are my ill Subjects, than I have joy and comfort in your affections and fidelities

And so GOD prosper your proceedings.

His Majesties Speech to the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, *at their Recess*, April 26. 1644.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am now brought to you by your selves, for I should not soon have parted with you, if you had not

not desired it, and I believe that the same zeal and affection to me and your Countrey, which hath brought and staid you here, hath caused you to seek this *Recess*, that so by distributing your selves into your several Countreys, we may all the better reap the fruits of our Consultations; wherefore in Gods name dispose of your selves as you think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you desire.

I think most (if not all) of you are engaged in my service, either in a Civil, or Martial way; to you that have charge in my Armies, I recommend the diligent attendance on your Commands, that so by your good example and discipline, you may suppress licence and disorder, which will discredit, and may destroy the best cause.

And to you who are engaged in the Civil affairs, I must recommend these few particulars; that you expedite those supplies of moneys, which by your advice I have sent for, whether by subscription or excise, remembring that moneys are the Nerves of war.

Likewise that you use your best diligence for the pressing of men, and encouragement of Volunteers; by shewing them, that now the only way to preserve themselves from slavery, and their Country from ruin, is freely to engage their persons.

But chiefly, and with all possible care to enform all my subjects of the barbarity and odiousness of this rebellion, how solicitous I have been for peace, and how insolently and scornfully rejected, assuring them that my Arms are raised, and kept only for the defence of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which being once secured and vindicated, I shall most chearfully lay them down, I having (God knows) with much unwillingness taken them up.

Lastly, assure them that these extraordinary wayes which necessity hath produced (and most of them not without your consent or advice) for my supply, shall not hereafter be brought in example to their prejudice, and I shall in the mean time do my best to prevent, and punish all exorbitances and disorders.

To conclude (My Lords and Gentlemen) I do now again (yet never enough) thank you for your great and unanimous expressions of your affections to me, which hath laid an unexpressable obligation upon me, and be assured that there is no profession which I have made for the defence and maintenance of our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, which I will not inviolably observe.

Now God who hath blessed this meeting with an unexpected unanimity (which I esteem as one not of his least blessings) will I hope bring us all safe together again the 8 day of *October* next, in the mean time I shall be ready to receive any thing from your Committees that shall be desired.

His Majesties Speech, at the delivery of the Votes for a Personall Treaty, at Carisbrook-Castle, Augusst 7. 1648.

By an Eye and Ear-witnesse, who not trusting to his memory made use of His Pen. And for the truth of this Relation, the Relator appeals to the Commissioners themselves, or to any there present, who had the happinesse with him, to hear the most pious, most Christian expressions, of a most Religious KING.

ON *Monday, Aug.* 7. 1648. the Commissioners having admittance into the Kings presence, the Votes

Votes were firſt read, and then preſented to the King by the Earl of *Middleſex*, who deſired His Majeſties ſpeedy Anſwer, Telling him, that their return was limited to *ten dayes*: The King then askt, *Whether the ten dayes were not to be counted from that of the delivery of the Meſſage?* My Lord of *Middleſex* anſwered, *No, Sir, they are to be counted from the day of our ſetting forth.* The King replyed, *I have not then five dayes allowed me to conſider of my Anſwer, which I preſume you expect in writing; and I have none to help me, no, not ſo much as a Clerk to tranſcribe; however I will really contribute my beſt endeavours to a happy Peace.* ——— After a ſhort pauſe, the King ſaid, *I would have ſent to the Parliament, but I deſire them to take notice, that my long ſilence proceeds not from a dull ſtupid lazineſſe, or my being inſenſible of my own or the Kingdoms condition; but from the incapacity that lay on me by reaſon of former Votes: but now a way is opened to a Treaty, which I ever apprehended, as the only means to a durable Peace, I ſhall cheerfully embrace it, and none ſhall more ſpeedily run to it, than my ſelf: And for my part, as being more concerned then any one in this Kingdom, nay, ſhould I ſay, more than all, I ſpeak it without vanity, I hope it will be thought no Hyperbolicall expreſſion, for I am aſſured, whoſoever gains, I ſhall be a loſer.* ——— ———

His Majeſty then read the Votes to himſelf, and having read them, ſaid, *I like them well, my deſires being included in theſe Votes: for what can I deſire more, than to Treat with* Honour, Freedom, *and* Safety, *upon the Propoſitions, and ſuch other things as either I or the two Houſes ſhall offer?* ——— His Majeſty then askt, *Whether the Commiſſioners to Treat were yet nominated?* My Lord of *Middleſex* anſwered, *No, Sir.* Then the King ſaid, *In a Treaty two ſorts of things are*

considerable; *some* Necessary, *others* Convenient:— Then the King said to them, *I will go and apply My self to my Answer, that I may not delay a minute to promote so good a work*: And then withdrew, and for that time dismissed the Commissioners.

On *Thursday August* 10. The Commissioners waited on his Majesty to receive his Answer; and upon their entrance into the presence, the King said, *He was sorry he was limited to so short a time, and had so little helps for dispatch, yet notwithstanding he had prepared his Answer*: and immediately before the reading thereof, used these words, *That the last Message he sent to the Houses, was delivered to the Commissioners Sealed*: *And had it been so presented, it would have been better for him*; *but now he thought it fit to send this open, because he could not be in a worse condition, being under so close a restraint, none being suffered to speak a word to him, without suspition.*—He then produced his Answer, and read it aloud in the presence Chamber, being full of Company, and after he had read it, His Majesty said, *That he hoped he had therein indeavored to give satisfaction to his Parliament*; *There being nothing in it but what he conceived is implied in their Votes.* And further added, *That there might be some that would oppose this Treaty, as being gainers by these Wars, and therefore desired the continuance of it. Others might think him revengeful, but he said he was so far from seeking revenge, That if a Straw lay in the way to hurt them, he would stoop and take it up to prevent it*: And said, *God forgive them, for I do.* Then the Commissioners coming to take their leaves of him, he called them to him, and asked them, how they liked his Answer? They told him, *they thought and hoped, it would produce a sudden and happy well-grounded Peace.*

His

His Majesties Speech to the Commissioners at the close of the Treaty at Newport. Novemb. 4. 1648.

At the close of the Treaty, the King made a short Speech to this purpose.

THat His Majesty hoped the Commissioners were now sensible, that none was more desirous of a good and lasting Peace then himself; that he had gone very far to give his two Houses satisfaction; that he thought, though the time for the Treaty was ended, yet the Treaty it self was not; that he expected to hear from his two Houses about his own Propositions, and would be ready to make his Concessions binding, by giving them the force of Laws. He desired that the Commissioners would put a good interpretation upon his vehement expressions in some of his Debates, there being nothing in his intentions but kindeness; and that as they had taken abundance of Freedom, and shewed great abilities in their Debates, which have taken his Majesty off from some of his own opinions, so his Majesty doubted not (had they had power to recede) some of his reasons would have prevailed with them, as he is confident, had it been with his two Houses, it would have done with them; and therefore beseeches them to take the same freedom with his two Houses, to press them to a complyance with him in those things his Conscience is not yet satisfied in, which more time may do; his Opinion not being like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable, or infallible. Adding his Majesties very hearty thanks for the pains they have taken to satisfie him, professing that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities, desired them can-

didly to represent all the Transactions of this Treaty to his two Houses, that they might see nothing of his Interest, how near or dear soever (but that wherein his conscience is unsatisfied) can hinder on his part a happy conclusion of this Treaty. And then he and the Commissioners took leave; and at night after supper they came and kissed his hand, and received a great deal of respect from his Majesty.

His Majesties farewell Speech unto the Lords Commissioners at Newport *in the Isle of* Wight, Novemb. 1648.

MY Lords, you are come to take your leave of me, and I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again: But Gods will be done, I thank God, I have made my Peace with him, and shall without fear undergo what he shall be pleased to suffer men to do unto me.

My Lords, you cannot but know, that in my fall and ruine, you see your own, and that also near to you; I pray God send you better friends then I have found.

I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the plot against me and mine, and nothing so much afflicts me, as the sense and feeling I have of the sufferings of my Subjects, and the Miseries that hang over my three Kingdoms, drawn upon them by those, who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their own interests and ends.

These words his Majesty delivered with much alacrity and cheerfulness, with a serene countenance and carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus he parted with the Lords, leaving many tender Impressions, (if not in them, yet) in the other hearers.

His

His Majesties
MESSAGES
FOR
PEACE.

Forty ſeveral Meſſages for Peace, ſent by his Majeſty to the two *Houſes* of Parliament, before and ſince the breaking out of this War (whereof only 21 were formerly Printed together, and the reſt which were then omitted, are now added.)

By all which may evidently appear, His Majeſties conſtant and earneſt endeavors after Peace, both before and after his Impriſonment: And his many and gracious Conceſſions offered for the obtaining of the ſame.

With two Declarations written by his Majeſty, the one at *Carisbrook-Caſtle Jan.* 14. 1647. after the Votes of *No addreſſes*. The other at *Newport, Nov.* 22. 1648. When his Majeſty was violently ſeized upon by the army, after the Treaty was ended.

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1. *His Majeſties Meſſage of the* 20 *of Jan.* 1641. *for compoſing of all differences.*

HIs Majeſty perceiving the manifold diſtractions which are now in this Kingdom, which cannot but bring great inconveniencies and miſchief to this whole Government, in which as his Majeſty is moſt chiefly intereſſed, ſo he holds himſelf by many reaſons, moſt obliged to do what in him lies, for the preventing thereof; though he might juſtly expect (as moſt proper for the duty of Subjects) that propoſitions for the remedies of theſe evils, ought rather to come to him then from him; yet his fatherly care of all his people being ſuch, that he will rather lay by any particular reſpect of his own dignity; then that any time ſhould be loſt for prevention of theſe threatning evils, which cannot admit the

the delays of the ordinary proceedings in Parliament; doth think fit to make this ensuing proposition to both Houses of Parliament, that they will with all speed fall into a serious consideration of all those particulars, which they shall hold necessary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of his majesties just and regal authority, and for the setling of his Revenue: As for the present and future establishment of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying of their Estates and Fortunes, the Liberties of their persons, the security of the true Religion now professed in the Church of *England*, and the setling of Ceremonies in such a maner as may take away all just offence: Which when they shall have digested and composed into one entire body, that so his Majesty and themselves may be able to make the more clear Judgement of them, it shall then appear by what his Majesty shall do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too great Fears and Jealousies of some persons seem to apprehend: And how ready he will be to equal and exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent Princes, in their Acts of Grace and Favor to their People, So that if all the present distractions (which so apparently threaten the ruine of this Kingdom) do not (by the blessing of Almighty God) end in an happy and blessed accommodation: His Majesty will then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witness, that it hath not failed on his part.

2. *His*

2. *His Majesties Message of the* 15 *of March*, 1641. *from* Huntington, *upon his removal to* York, *in pursuance of the former.*

HIs Majesty being now in his remove to his City of *York*, where he intends to make his residence for some time, thinks fit to send this Message to both *Houses* of Parliament.

That he doth very earnestly desire that they will use all possible industry in expediting the business of *Ireland*, in which they shall finde so chearful a concurrence by his Majesty, that no inconvenience shall happen to that service by his absence, he having all that passion for the reducing of that Kingdom, which he hath expressed in his former Messages, and being unable by words to manifest more affection to it, then he hath endeavored to do by those Messages (having likewise done all such Acts as he hath been moved unto by his Parliament) Therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of his poor Protestant Subjects, they shall grow upon them (though his Majesty shall be deeply concerned in, and sensible of their sufferings) he shall wash his hands before all the World, from the least imputation of slackness in that most necessary and pious work.

And that his Majesty may leave no way unattempted, which may beget a good understanding between him and his Parliament, he thinks it necessary to declare, That as he hath been so tender of the priviledges of Parliament, that he hath been ready and forward to retract any Act of his own, which he hath been informed hath trencht upon their priviledges, so he expects an equal tenderness in them of his Majesties known and unquestionable priviledges (which

(which are the priviledges of the Kingdom) amongst which, He is assured it is a fundamental one, That his Subjects cannot be obliged to obey an Act, Order, or Injunction, to which his Majesty hath not given his consent: And therefore he thinks it necessary to publish, That he expects, and hereby requires Obedience from all his loving Subjects, to the Laws established, and that they presume not upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which his Majesty is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing to do or execute what is not warranted by those Laws, his Majesty being resolved to keep the Laws himself, and to require obedience to them from all his Subjects.

And his Majesty once more recommends to his Parliament the substance of his Message of the twentieth of *January* last, that they compose and digest with all speed such Acts as they shall think fit, for the present and future establishment of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying their Estates and Fortunes; the liberties of their persons; the security of the true Religion, now professed in the Church of *England*; The maintaining his Majesties regal and just Authority, and setling his Revenue: His Majesty being most desirous to take all fitting and just ways which may beget a happy understanding between him and his Parliament, in which he conceives his greatest power and riches do consist.

3. *His*

3. *His Majesties Message from* Nottingham, *when he set up his Standard, the twenty fifth of* August. 1642.

By the Earls of Southampton, *and* Dorset, *Sir* John Culpeper, *Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, and Sir* W. Wedale, *Knight.*

WE have with unspeakable grief of heart long beheld the distractions of this our Kingdom; Our very soul is full of anguish until we may finde some remedy to prevent the miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a civil war: and though all our endeavours tending to the composing of those unhappy differences betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by us with all zeal and sincerity) have been hitherto without that success we hoped for; yet such is our constant and earnest care to preserve the publick peace, that we shall not be discouraged from using any expedient, which by the blessing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of peace and happiness to all our good Subjects: to this end observing that many mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted; we have thought fit to propound to you, that some fit persons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to be authorised by us, in such a manner, and with such freedome of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion, which all good men

desire, *The peace of the Kingdom*: wherein as we promise in the word of a King all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto us, if you shall choose the place where we are for the Treaty, which we wholly leave to you, presuming on the like care of the safety of those we shall imploy, if you shall name an other place; so we assure you and all our good Subjects, that (to the best of our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on our part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the land (upon which is built aswel our just Prerogative, as the Propriety and liberty of the Subject) confirm all just power and priviledges of Parliament, and render us and our people truly happy by a good understanding betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm resolutions to do your duty, and let all our people joyn with us in our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this Work.

If this Proposition shall be rejected by you, we have done our duty so amply, that God will absolve us from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt. And what opinion soever other men may have of our power, we assure you nothing but our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of Blood hath begot this motion, our provision of Men, Arms, and Money being such as may secure us from further violence, till it please God to open the eyes of our people.

4. *His Majesties Message of* Sept. 5. 1642. *in pursuance of the former.*

WE will not repeat what means we have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the Kingdom; nor how these means have been interpreted, because being desirous to avoid effusion of blood, we are willing to decline all memory of former bitterness that might make our offer of a Treaty less readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both our Houses of Parliament Traytors, or set up our *Standard* against them, and much less to put them and this Kingdom out of our protection; we utterly profess against it before God and the World. And further to remove all possible scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by us, we hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all persons as Traytors or other wayes, for assisting us, we shall with all chearfulness upon the same day recal our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down our Standard: in which Treaty we shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of our subjects, Conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree, as by these our offers we have declared Our self to do: And assuring you that Our chief desire in this world is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt us and Our two Houses of Parliament.

5. *His Majesties Message and Reply to the Answer of both Houses, to His former Message.* September 11. 1642.

WHo have taken most wayes, used most endeavours, and made most real expressions to prevent the present Distractions and Dangers, let all the world judge, as well by former passages as Our two last messages, which have been so fruitless, (that though we have descended to desire and press it) not so much as a Treaty can be obtained, unless we would denude Our self of all force to defend us from a visible strength marching against us, and admit those persons accounted as Traytors to us, who according to their duty, their Oathes of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of us their King and Leige Lord (whom we are bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though we disclaimed all Our Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of Our Standard as against Our Parliament. All we have now left in Our power is, to express the deep sense we have of the publick misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of Our distressed Protestants of *Ireland*, and to apply Our self to Our necessary defence, wherein we wholly relie upon the providence of God, the justice of our cause, and the affection of Our good people, so far we are from putting them out of Our protection. When you shall desire a Treaty of us, we shall piously remember, whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrel, and chearfully embrace it. And as no other reason induced us to leave Our City of *London*, but that with Honour and safety we could not stay there; nor to raise

raise any force, but for the necessary defence of Our Person and the Law, against Levies in opposition to both; so we shall suddenly and most willingly return to the one, and disband the other, as soon as those causes shall be removed. The God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those judgements which hang over this Nation, and so deal with us and Our Posterity, as we desire the preservation and advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and the Law and Liberty of the Subject, the just rights of Parliament, and the Peace of the Kingdome.

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6. *His Majesties Message of* November 12. 1642. *from* Brainford: *After the defeat of the Parliaments forces at* Edge-hill, *and at* Brainford.

WHereas the last night, being the eleventh of *November*, after the departure of the Committee of both Our Houses, with Our gratious Answer to their Petition, we received certain information, (having till then heard nothing of it, either from the Houses Committee or otherwise) that the L. of *Essex* had drawn his forces out of *London* towards us, which hath necessitated Our sudden resolution to march with our forces to *Brainford*; we have thought hereby fit to signifie to both Our Houses of Parliament, that we are no less desirous of the Peace of the Kingdome, than we express in Our aforesaid Answer; the Propositions for which, we shall willingly receive where ever we are, and desire (if it may be) to receive them at *Brainford* this night, or early to morrow morning;

that all possible speed may be made in so good a work, and all inconveniencies, otherwise likely to intervene, may be avoided.

AND to justifie yet further, that Our intention was no other then was here profest, assoon as we were informed that the Earl of *Essex* his Forces were departed from *Kingstone*, before any appearance or notice of further forces from *London*, (Our end of not being inclosed being obtained) we gave orders to quit *Brainford*, and to march away, and possess that place.

We cannot but make one Argument more of the truth of Our profession, that this was all Our end, and that we had not the least thought by so advancing to surprize and sack *London*, (which the Malignant party would infuse into that Our City) and that is, that probably God Almighty would not have given such a blessing to our journey, as to have assisted us so both by Land and Water, as with less than a third part of Our Foot, and with the loss but of ten men, to beat two of their best Regiments out of both *Brainfords*, for all the great advantage of their works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and to kill and drown many others, to take five hundred prisoners, more Arms, eleven colours, and good store of Ammunition, fifteen peeces of Ordinance, (whereof we sunk most that we brought not away) and then unfought with and unoffered at, nearer than by Ordinance, to march away, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of Our forces by the difficulties of the passages, if he, who is the searcher of all hearts, and truth it self, had not known the truth of our professions, and the innocency of Our heart, and how

how far we were from deserving those horrid accusations of Falshood, and Treachery cast so point blank upon Our own person, that it would amaze any man to see them suffered to be printed in Our City of *London*, if any thing of that kind could be a wonder, after so many of the same, and how really they desire accommodation, who upon this have voted they will have none.

These our Reasons for this Action, this Our satisfaction sent for it, and this blessing of God upon it, will (we doubt not) clear us to all indifferent persons both of the Jesuitical Counsels, and the personal Treachery, to which some have presumed so impudently to impute it; and God so bless Our future Actions, as we have delivered the truth of this.

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7. *His Majesties Message containing his Reply to the Answer of both Houses to his former Message.* November 18. 1642.

To the Answer of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesties Message of the 12. *of* November, *his Majestie makes this Reply.*

THat this Message of the twelfth, though not received by them till the fourteenth, was sent to them first upon the same day upon which it was dated, and meeting with stops by the way, was again sent upon the thirteenth, and taken upon that day at ten in the morning by the Earl of *Essex*, and though not to him directed, was by him opened, so the slowness of the delivery is not so strange as the stop of the Letter said to be sent by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, which his Majesty hath not yet recei-

ved, but concludes from the matter expressed to have been contained in that Letter (to wit, to know his pleasure, whether he intended the forbearance of Hostility) and by the command of such forbearance said to be sent to the Lord of *Essex* his Army, that no such forbearance was already concluded, and consequently neither had his majestie cause to suppose that he should take any of their forces unprovided and secure in expectation of a fair Treaty, neither could any Hostile Act of his majesties forces have been a course unsuitable to his Expressions, much less could an endeavour to prepossess (for so he hoped he might have done) that place which might have stopt the further march of those forces towards him (which, for ought appeared to him, might as well have been intended to *Colebrook* as to *Brainford*) and by that the further effusion of blood deserve that stile.

His majestie further conceives, that the printing so out of time of such a Declaration, as their Reply to his Answer to theirs of the six and twentieth of *May*, but the day before they voted the delivery of their Petition, and the march of the Earl of *Essex* his forces to *Brainford* so near to his majestie, when the Committee at the same time attended him with a Petition for a Treaty, the Earl of *Essex* being before possest of all the other Avenues to his Army, by his Forces at *Windsore*, *Acton*, and *Kingstone*, was a more strange introduction to peace, than for his Majestie not to suffer himself to be coopt up on all sides, because a Treaty had been mentioned, which was so really and so much desired by his majestie, that this proceeding seems to him purposely to be by some intended to divert (which it could not do) that his inclination.

That

That his Majesty had no intention to master the City by so advancing, besides his profession, which (how meanly soever they seem to value it) He conceives a sufficient Argument (especially being onely opposed by suspicions and surmises) may appear by his not pursuing his victory at *Brainford*, but giving Orders to his Army to march away to *Kingstone* as soon as he heard that place was quitted, before any notice or appearance of further forces from *London*; nor could he finde a better way to satisfie them before hand, that he had no such intention, but that his desire of Peace, and of Propositions that might conduce to it, still continued, then by that Message of the twelfth, for which care of his he was requited by such a reception of his Message and Messenger, as was contrary at once both to Duty, Civility, and the very Customs and Law of War and Nations, and such as thei s (though after this provocation) hath not found from him.

His Majesty wonders that his Souldiers should be charged with thirsting after blood, who took above five hundred prisoners in the very heat of the fight; His Majesty having since dismissed all the Common Souldiers, and entertained such as were able to serve him, and required only from the rest an Oath not to serve against him: And His Majesty supposes such most apt and likely to maintaine their power by blood and rapine, who have onely got it by Oppression and Injustice; That His is invested in him by the Law, and by that onely (if the destructive Counsels of others would not hinder such a Peace, in which that might once again be the universal Rule, and in which Religion and Justice can onely flourish) He desires to maintain it. And if Peace were equally desired by them,

as

as it is by his Majesty, He conceives it would have been proper to have sent him such a paper as should have contained just propositions of peace, and not an unjust accusation of his Counsels proceedings and person. And his Majesty intends to march to such a distant from his City of *London*, as may take away all pretence of apprehension from his Army, that might hinder them in all security from yet preparing them to be sent to him, and there will be ready either to receive them, or to end the pressures and Miseries which His Subjects to His great grief suffer through this War, by a present Battel.

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8. *His Majesties Message for a Treaty*, March 3. 1643. *from* Oxford.

C. R.

OUt of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdom, and our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which by the Blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter ruine; By the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, We do propound and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons, may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient speed at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons, whom we shall appoint and authorize to treat of the ways and means to settle the present distractions of this our Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace, And particularly, how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to treat,

treat, consult, and agree upon such things, as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender consciences; to the setling and maintaining of our just Rights and Priviledges; of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and property of the Subject, and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting Peace, both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt Us and Our people, wherein no endeavors or concurrence of Ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the ways of Peace. *Given at our Court at* Oxford, *the third day of* March, 1643.

Superscribed, To the Lords and Commons of Parliament Assembled at Westminster.

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9. *His Majesties Message after the ending of the Treaty at* Oxford, *concerning the disbanding of all Forces, and his return to the Parliament.* Aprill 12. 1643. Oxford.

TO shew to the whole World how earnestly His Majesty longs for Peace, and that no successe shall make Him desire the continuance of His Army to any other end, or for any longer time than that, and untill things may be so setled, as that the law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the Rights of His Majestie, both Houses, and his good Subjects.

1. As soon as His Majestie is satisfied in His first Propo-

Proposition concerning His own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts, in which he desires nothing but that the Just, known, Legal Rights of his Majesty (devolved to Him from His Progenitors) and of the persons trusted by him; which hath been violently taken from both, be restored unto him, and unto them, unless any just and legal exceptions against any of the persons trusted by him (which are yet unknown to his Majesty) can be made appear to him.

2. As soon as all the Members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the first of *January*, 1641. the same of right belonging unto them by their birth-rights, and the free election of those that sent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to his Majesty in these distractions; His Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such in whose places upon new Writs, new Elections have been made.

3. As soon as His Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the great breach of the priviledges, and the high dishonor of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the Members of the same, and occasioned two several complaints from the Lords House, and two several desires of that House to the House of Commons, to joyn in a Declaration against them, the complying with which desire, might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued; Which security his Majesty conceives can be onely setled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place, at the least twenty Miles from *London*, the

the choice of which His Majesty leaves to both Houses.

His Majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent that both Armies be immediatly disbanded, and give a present meeting to both his Houses of *Parliament*, at the time and place, at and to which the *Parliament* shall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majesty being most confident, that the Law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of *Parliament*, such provisions will be made against seditious preaching and printing against his Majesty, and the established Laws which hath been one of the chief causes of the present distractions; and such care will be taken concerning the legal and known Rights of his Majesty, and the property and liberty of his Subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done, in or by colour of any illegal Declaration, Ordinance or Order of one or both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise Arms without his Majesties consent, will be in such a maner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out for the future, to disturb the peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it.

And in such a convention his Majesty is resolved by his readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to him by Bill for the real good of his Subjects, (and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of Recusants,) for the education of the children of *Papists* by *Protestants* in the Protestant Religion, for the prevention of the practices of Papists against the State, and the due

due execution of the Lawes, and true levying of the penalties against them, to make known to all the world how causeless those Fears and Jealousies have been, which have been raised against him, and by that so distracted this miserable Kingdom. And if this offer of his Majesty be not consented to, (in which He asks nothing for which there is not apparent justice on his side, and in which He deferrs many things highly concerning both himself and People, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in Justice He might now require) His Majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the World, not onely who is most desirous of Peace, and whose fault it is that both Armies are not now disbanded, but who have been the true and first cause that this Peace was ever interrupted, or these Armies raised; and the beginning or continuance of the war, and the destruction and desolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most interessed, passionate, or prejudicate person, be imputed to His Majesty.

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10. *His Majesties Message of the* 19 *of May*, 1643. *in pursuance of the former*. Oxford.

SInce His Majesties Message of the twelfth of *April*, (in which He conceived He had made such an Overture for the immediate disbanding of all Armies, and composure of these present miserable distractions, by a full and free convention in Parliament that a perfect and setled Peace would have ensued) hath in all this time (above a full moneth) procured no Answere from both Houses, His Majesty

Majesty might well believe himself absolved before God and man, from the least possible charge of not having used his utmost endeavor for Peace: yet when he considers that the Scene of all this calamity is in the bowels of his own Kingdom, that all the blood which is spilt is of his own Subjects, and that what victory soever it shall please God to give him, must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against him: When he considers that these desperate civil Dissentions may encourage and invite a forraign enemy to make a prey of the whole Nation; That *Ireland* is in present danger to be totally lost; That the heavy Judgements of God, Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural Contention; And that in a short time, there will be so general a habit of uncharitableness & cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdom, that even Peace it self will not restore his people to their old temper and security, his Majesty cannot but again call for an Answer to that his Message, which gives so fair a Rise to end these unnatural distractions. And his Majesty doth this with the more earnestness, because he doubts not the condition of his Armies in several parts, His strength of Horse, Foot, and Artillery, His plenty of Ammunition (which some men lately might conceive he wanted) is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed, that nothing but the tenderness and love to his people, and those Christian Impressions which always have, and he hopes always shall dwell in his heart, could move him once more to hazard a refusal. And he requires them, as they will answer to God, to himself, and all the World, that they will no longer suffer their fellow

low Subjects to welter in each others blood; That they will remember by whose Authority, and to what end they met in that Councel, and send such an Answer to his Majesty, as may open a door to let in a firm Peace and Security to the whole Kingdom. If his Majesty shall again be disappointed of his intentions herein, the Blood, Rapine, and Distraction, which must follow in *England* and *Ireland*, will be cast upon the account of those who are deaf to the motion of Peace and Accommodation.

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11. *His Majesties Message from* Evesham, *after the defeat of* Waller *at* Cropredy-*Bridge*, July 4. 1644.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament, assembled at Westminster.

C. R.

WE being deep'ly sensible of the miseries and calamities of this our Kingdom, and of the grievous sufferings of our poor Subjects, do most earnestly desire that some expedient may be found out, which by the blessing of God may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the Nation to Peace, from the earnest and constant endeavoring of which, as no discouragement given us on the contrary part shall make us cease, so no successe on ours shall ever divert us. For the effecting whereof, we are most ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of Us and Our people, whether by way of confirmation of what We have already granted, or of such further

further concession as shall be requisite to the giving a full assurance of the performance of all Our most reall professions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion established in this Kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender Consciences, the just Priviledges of Parliament, and the liberty and propriety of the Subject, according to the Lawes of the Land; as also by granting a generall pardon without, or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed Peace, we do desire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, That they appoint such, and so many persons as they shall think fit sufficiently authorized by them to attend Vs at Our Army, upon safe conduct to come and return (which we do hereby grant) and conclude with Vs, how the premises and all other things in question betwixt Vs and them, may be fully setled: whereby all unhappy mistakings betwixt Vs and Our People being removed, there may be a present Cessation of Arms, and as soon as may be, a totall disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be restored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our offer shall be accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on Our part, which may make Our people secure and happy.

Given at Our Court at Evesham *the fourth* of July, 1644.

12. *His Majesties Message from* Taveſtock *for Accommodation*, Septemb. 8. 1644. *After the defeat of the Earl of* Eſſex *in* Cornwall.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter.

C. R.

IT having pleaſed GOD in ſo eminent a manner, lately to bleſſe Our Armies in theſe parts with ſucceſſe, we do not ſo much joy in that bleſsing for any other conſideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a means to make others lay to heart as We do, the miſeries brought and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnaturall War, and that it may open your ears, and diſpoſe your mindes to embrace thoſe offers of Peace and reconciliation, which have been ſo often, and ſo earneſtly made unto you by Us, and from the conſtant and fervent endeavours of which we are reſolved never to deſiſt. In purſuance whereof, We do upon this occaſion conjure you to take into conſideration Our (too long neglected) Meſſage of the fourth of *July* from *Eveſham*, which We again renue unto you. And that you will ſpeedily ſend Vs ſuch an Anſwer thereunto, as may ſhew unto Our poor Subjects, ſome light of a deliverance from their preſent calamities by a happy accommodation, toward which We do here engage the word of a King, to make good all thoſe things which We have therein promiſed, and really to endeavour a happy concluſion of this Treaty. And ſo God direct you in the wayes of peace.

Given at our Court at Taveſtock, *the eighth of* September. 1644.

13. *His*

13. *His Majesties Message for a saf conduct for certain persons of Honour, to be sent with Propositions of Peace.* Decemb. 5. 1645. Oxford.

Charls R.

HIs Majesty being deeply sensible of the continuation of this bloody and unnaturall War; cannot think himself discharg'd of the duty he owes to God, or the affection and regard he hath to the preservation of his people, without the constant application of His earnest endeavours to finde some expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions, if that may be, doth therefore desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent, for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *John Ashburnham*, and *Jeffry Palmer* Esquires, and their atendants, with Coaches, Horses, and other accommodations for their journey to *Westminster*, during their stay there, and return when they shall think fit. Whom His Majesty intends to send to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furnished with such Propositions, as His Majesty is confident wil be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*, 5. *Decemb.* 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

14 *His Majesties Message of* Decemb. 15. 1645. *in pursuance of the former.* Oxford.

C. R.

HIs Majesty cannot but extreamly wonder, that after so many expressions on your part, of a deep and seeming sense of the miseries of this afflicted Kingdom, and of the dangers incident to his Person during the continuance of this unnaturall War, your many great and so often repeated Protestations, that the raising of these Arms hath been onely for the necessary defence of Gods true Religion, his Majesties honour, safety and prosperity, the peace, comfort, and security of his people, you should delay a safe Conduct to the persons mentioned in his Majesties Message of the fifth of this instant *December*, which are to be sent unto you with Propositions for a well-grounded peace: A thing so far from having been denied at any time by his Majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that he believes it hath been seldome (if ever) practised among the most avowed and professed enemies, much less from Subject to their King. But his Majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make him fail of his part in doing his uttermost endeavours to put an end to these calamities, which if not in time prevented, must prove the ruine of this unhappy Nation: And therefore doth once again desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent for those persons expressed in his former Message, and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer to Almighty God, in that day when he shall make inquisition for all the blood that hath and may yet be spilt in this unnaturall War; as you tender the preservation and esta-

establishment of the true Religion; by all the bonds of duty and Allegiance to your King, or compassion to your bleeding and unhappy Countrey, and of charity to your selves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sense, and imploy all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with his Majesty, to set a speedy end to these wasting Divisions, and then he shall not doubt, but that God will yet again give the blessing of peace to this distracted Kingdom.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*, the 15 of *Decemb.* 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

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15. *His Majesties Message for a Personall Treaty, with Propositions for* Peace, *December* 15. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

NOtwithstanding the strange and unexpected delayes (which can be presidented by no former times) to his Majesties two former Messages, his Majesty will lay aside all expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, than to contribute any remedy to the evils, which (for the present) do afflict this distracted Kingdom; therefore without further preamble, his Majesty thinks it most necessary to send these propositions this way, which he intended to do by the persons mentioned in his former Messages, though he well knows the great disadvantage, which overtures of this kind have by the want of being accompanied by well instructed Messengers.

*H*is Majesty conceiving that the former Treaties

have hitherto proved ineffectuall, chiefly for want of power in those persons that Treated, as likewise because those from whom their power was derived (not possibly having the particular informations of every severall debate) could not give so clear a judgement as was requisite in so important a business; If therefore His Majesty may have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Maior, Aldermen, Common-Councell, and Militia of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, as also those in the *Scots* Army, for His Majesties free and safe coming to, and abode in *London* or *Westminster*, (with such of his servants now attending him, and their followers, not exceeding in all the number of three hundred) for the space of fourty dayes, and after the said time for His free and safe repair to any of His Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Worcester*, or *Newark*, (which his Majesty shall nominate at any time before His going from *London* or *Westminster*) His Majesty propounds to have a personall Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which may conduce to the restoring of peace and happiness to these miserable distracted Kingdoms: And to begin with the three heads which were Treated on at *Uxbridge*. And for the better clearing of His Majesties earnest and sincere intentions of putting an end to these unnaturall distractions, (knowing that point of security may prove the greatest obstacle to this most blessed work) His Majesty therefore declares, That He is willing to commit the great trust of the Militia of this Kingdom, for such time, and with such powers, as are expresst in the paper delivered by His Majesties

sties Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, the sixth of February last to these persons following, *viz.* The Lord *Privie Seal*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquesse of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord *Chamberlain*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Chichester*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Lexington*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Henry Bellacis*, Mr. *Richard Spencer*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, Sir *Gervas Clifton*, Sir *Henry Vane junior*, Mr. *Robert Wallop*, Mr. *Thomas Chicheley*, Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. *Philip Skippon*, supposing that these are persons against whom there can be no just exception: But if this doth not satisfie, then His Majesty offers to name the one half, and leave the other to the election of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Maiesty calls God and the World to witnesse, of His sincere intentions and real endeavours, for the composing and setling of these miserable Distractions, which he doubts not, but by the blessing of God, will soon be put to a happy conclusion, if this His Majesties offer be accepted: Otherwise He leaves all the world to judge, who are the continuers of this unnaturall war. And therefore he once more conjures you, by all the bonds of duty you owe to GOD and your King, to have so great a compassion on the bleeding and miserable estate of your Countrey, That you joyn your most serious

and hearty endeavours with his Majesty, to put a happy and speedy end to these present miseries.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*, the 26 of *Decem*, 1645

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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16. *His Majesties Message in pursuance of the former, for a Personall Treaty at* Westminster, *Decemb.* 29. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

ALthough the Message sent by Sir *Peter Kilegrew* may justly require an expostulatory Answer, yet his Majesty layes that aside, as not so proper for his present endeavours; leaving all the World to judge, whether his Proposition for a personall Treaty, or the flat deniall of a safe Conduct for persons to begin a Treaty, be greater signes of a reall intention to peace; and shall now onely insist upon his former Message of the 26 of this *Decemb.* That upon his repaire to *Westminster*, he doubts not but so to joyn his endeavours with his two *Houses* of *Parliament*, as to give just satisfaction, not onely concerning the businesse of *Ireland*, but also for the setling of a way for the payment of the publick debts, as well to the *Scots*, and to the City of *London*, as others. And as already he hath shewn a faire way for the setling of the *Militia*, so he shall carefully endeavour in all other particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just Jealousies may arise to hinder the continuance of the desired peace,

peace. And certainly this proposition of a personall Treaty could never have entred into his Majesties thoughts, if he had not resolved to make apparent to all the World, that the publick good and peace of this Kingdom, is far dearer to him than the respect of any particular interest. Wherefore none can oppose this motion, without a manifest demonstration, that he particularly envies his Majesty should be the chief Author in so blessed a work, besides the declaring himself a direct opposer of the happy peace of these Nations. To conclude, whosoever will not be ashamed, that his fair and specious protestations should be brought to a true and publick test; and those who have a reall sense, and do truly commiserate the miseries of their bleeding Countrey, let them speedily and cheerfully embrace his Majesties proposition for his personall Treaty at *Westminster*, which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to these now distracted Kingdoms, restore the happinesse of a long-wisht-for, and lasting peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 29 day of December. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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17. *His Majesties Message of* Jan. 15. 1645. *in pursuance of the former, conteining His Majesties Concessions and Offers.* Oxford.

C. R.

BUt that these are times, wherin nothing is strange; it were a thing much to be marvelleed at, what should

should cause this unparallel'd long detention of his Majesties Trumpet, sent with his gracious Message of the 26 of *December* last: Peace being the onely subject of it, & his Majesties personal treaty, the means proposed for it. And it were almost as great a wonder that his Majesty should be so long from enquiring after it, if that the hourly expectation thereof had not in some measure satisfied his impatience: But lest his Majesty by his long silence, should condemn himself of carelesness in that, which so much concerns the good of all his people, he thinks it high hime to enquire after his said Trumpeter: For since all men who pretend any goodness, must desire peace; and that all men know Treaties to be the best and most Christian way to procure it, and there being as little question, that his Majesties personal presence in it, is the likelyest way to bring it to a happy issue, He judges there must be some strãge variety of accidents which causeth this most tedious delay; wherefore his Majesty earnestly desires to have a speedy account of his former Message, the subject whereof is Peace, and the means his personal presence at *Westminster*, where the government of the Church being setled, as it was in the times of the happy & glorious reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*; and full liberty for the ease of their Consciences, who will not communicate in that service established by Law; and likewise for the free and publique use of the Directory (prescribed, and by command of the two Houses of Parliament, now practised in some parts of the City of *London*) to such as shall desire to use the same; and all Forces being agreed to be disbanded, his Majesty will then forthwith (as he hath in his Message of the 29 of *December* last, already offered) joyn with his two Houses of Parliament, in setling some

some way for the payment of the publick Debts to his *Scotch* Subjects, the City of *London*, and others: and his Majesty having proposed a fair way for the setling of the *Militia*, which now by this long delay seems not to be thought sufficient security; his Majesty (to shew how really he will imploy himself at his coming to *Westminster* (for making this a lasting Peace, and taking away all jealousies (how groundless soever) will indeavor upon debate with his two Houses, so to dispose of it (as likewise of the business of *Ireland*) as may give to them and both Kingdoms just satisfaction; not doubting also, but to give good contentment to his two Houses of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admiral, the Officers of State, and others, if his two Houses, by their ready inclinations to Peace, shall give him encouragement thereunto. Thus his Majesty having taken occasion by his just impatience so to explain his intentions, that no man can doubt of a happy issue to this succeeding Treaty: if now there shall be so much as a delay of the same, he calls God and the world to witness, who they are, that not only hinder, but reject this Kingdoms future happiness, it being so much the stranger, that his Majesties coming to *Westminster* (which was first the greatest pretence for taking up Arms) should be so much as delayed, much less not accepted or refused; but his Majesty hopes, that God will no longer suffer the malice of wicked men to hinder the Peace of this too much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*, the 15 of *January*, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

18. *His*

18. *His Majesties Message of* January *seventeenth,* 1645. *for an Answer to his former Messages.* Oxford.

C. R.

HIs Majesty thinks not fit now to answer those aspersions which are returned as arguments for His not admittance to *Westminster* for a personal Treaty, because it would enforce a stile not suitable to his end, it being the Peace of those miserable Kingdoms: yet thus much he cannot but say to those who have sent him this answer, that if they had considered what they have done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood, by withdrawing themselves from their duty to him, in a time when he had granted so much to his Subjects, and in violating the known Laws of the Kingdom to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow Subjects, (to say no more, to do as they have done) they could not have given such a false character of his Majesties Actions. Wherefore his Majesty must now remember them, that having some hours before his receiving of their last paper of the 13 of *January*, sent another Message to them of the 15. wherein by divers particulars he enlargeth himself to shew the reality of his endeavors for Peace, by his desired personal Treaty (which he still conceives to be the likeliest way to attain to that blessed end) he thinks fit by this Message to call for an Answer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly, no rational man can think their last paper can be any Answer to his former demands, the scope of it being, that because there is a War, therefore there should be no Treaty for Peace.

And

is it possible to expect that the propositions mentioned should be the grounds of a lasting Peace, when the persons that send them will not endure to hear their own King speak? But whatever the success hath been of his Majesties former Messages, or how small soever his hopes are of a better, considering the high strain of those who deal with his Majesty, yet he will neither want Fatherly Bowels to his Subjects in general, nor will he forget that God hath appointed him for their King, with whom he treats. Wherefore he now demands a speedy answer to his last and former Messages.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*, this 17 of *January*, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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19. *His Majesties Message of* January 24. 1645. *for Answer to his former Message, and concerning their Reasons against a Personal Treaty.* Oxford.

C. R.

THe procuring Peace to these Kingdoms by Treaty, is so much desired by his Majesty, that no unjust aspersions whatsoever, or any other discouragements shall make him desist from doing his endeavor therein, until he shall see it altogether impossible; and therefore hath thought fitting so far only to make reply to that paper or answer which he hath received of the 13 of this instant *January*, as may take away those objections which are made against

against His Majesties comming to *Westminster*, expecting still an Answer to His Messages of the fifteenth, and seventeenth, which he hopes by this time have begotten better thoughts and resolutions, in the members of both Houses. And first therefore, whereas in the said last paper it is objected as an impediment to His Majesties Personall Treaty, that much innocent blood hath been shed in this War, by His Majesties Commissions, &c. He will not now dispute(it being apparent to all the World by whom this blood hath been spilt) but rather presseth that there should be no more: and (to that end only)He hath desired this personall Treaty, as judging it the most immediate means to abolish so many horrid confusions in all His Kingdoms. And it is no Argument, to say, That there shall be no such personall Treaty because there have been Wars, it being a strong inducement to have such a Treaty to put an end to the War. Secondly, that there should be no such personall Treaty, because some of his Irish Subjects have repaired to his assistance in it, seems an argument altogether as strange as the other, as alwayes urging that there should be no Physick, because the party is sick: and in this particular it hath been often observed unto them, that those whom they call Irish, who have so expressed their loyalty to their Soveraign, were indeed (for the most part) such English Protestants, as had been formerly sent into *Ireland* by the two Houses, impossibilitated to stay there any longer by the neglect of those that sent them thither, who should there have better provided for them. And for any Forrain forces, it is too apparent that their Armies have swarmed with them, when his Majesty hath had very few or none. And whereas, for a third impediment, it is alledged

leged that the Prince is in the head of an Army in the *Weſt*, and that there are divers Garriſons ſtill kept in His Majeſties obedience, and that there are forces in *Scotland*; it muſt be as much confeſſed, as that as yet there is no peace: And therefore it is deſired, that by ſuch a perſonal Treaty, all theſe impediments may be removed. And it is not here amiſs to put them in mind, how long ſince His Majeſty did preſſe a disbanding of all Forces on both ſides, the refuſing whereof hath been the cauſe of this objection. And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the Propoſition for His Majeſties perſonall Treaty, thereupon inferring, that he ſhould again return to hoſtility, His Majeſty proteſteth that he ſeeks this Treaty to void future hoſtility, and to procure a laſting peace; and if he can meet with like inclinations to peace in thoſe he deſires to Treat with, He will bring ſuch affections and reſolutions in himſelf, as ſhall end all theſe unhappy bloody differences. As for thoſe engagements which His Majeſty hath deſired for His ſecurity, whoſoever ſhall call to mind the particular occaſions that enforced His Majeſty to leave his City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, will judge his demand very reaſonable and neceſſary for his ſafety. But he no way conceiveth how the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Common Councell, and *Militia* of *London*, were either ſubject or ſubordinate to that Authority which is alleged, as knowing neither Law nor practice for it: And if the two Armies be, he believes it is more than can be paralell'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can His Majeſty underſtand how his Majeſties ſeeking of a perſonall ſecurity can be any breach of priviledge: it being likely to be infringed by hindring His Majeſty from coming freely to his

his two Houses. As for the objection that his Majesty omitted to mention the setling Religion, and securing the peace of his native Kingdom, his Majesty declares, that he conceives that it was included in his former, and hath been particularly mentioned in his latter Message of the 15 present. But, for their better satisfaction, he again expresseth that it was, and ever shall be, both his meaning and endeavour in this Treaty desired; and it seems to him very clear, that there is no way for a finall ending of such distractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treaty or Conquest, the latter of which his Majesty hopes none will have the impudency or impiety to wish for. And for the former, if his personall assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judge: when by that means not only all unnecessary delayes will be removed, but even the greatest difficulties made easy. And therefore he doth now again earnestly insist upon that propositon expecting to have a better Answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any propositions will be so effectuall, being formed before a personall Treaty, as such as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both sides? Wherefore his *Majesty* who is most concerned in the good of his people, and is most desirous to restore peace and happinesse to his three Kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an Answer to his said former *Messages*, to which he hath hitherto received none.

Given at Our Court at Oxon, *the* 24 *of* January, 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

His

20. *His Majesties Message of January the* 29th, 1645. *about* Ireland, *and His Majesties further Concessions, and desire of a Personall Treaty.* Oxford.

Charls R.

HIs *Majesty* having received information from the Lord Lieutenant and Councell in *Ireland*; That the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without his or their directions or privity, entred into a Treaty with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain Articles with the said Commissioners, highly derogatory to his *Majesties* honour and Royall dignity, and most prejudiciall unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*; Whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan* is arrested, upon suspition of high Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, at the instance, and by the impeachment of the Lord *Digby*, who (by reason of his place and former imployment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said Earl hath been to his Majesties intentions and directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan* should be any wayes understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his *Majesty*.

His *Majesty*, having in his former *Messages* for a personal Treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houses in the businesse of *Ireland*; hath now thought fitting, the better to shew his cleer intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said *Houses* of Parliament, and the rest of his Subjects in all his

Kingdoms, to send this Declaration to his said Houses, containing the whole truth of the business, which is,

That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having made offer unto him to raise Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to conduct them into *England* for his Majesties Service, had a Commission to that purpose, and to that purpose onely.

That he had no Commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privity and directions of the L. Lieut. much less to capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any propriety belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieutenants proceedings with the said Earl, that he had no notice at all of what the said Earl had treated and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish, until by accident it came to his knowledge.

And his Majesty doth protest, That until such time as he had advertisement, that the person of the said Earl of *Glamorgan* was arrested and restrained, as is abovesaid, he never heard, nor had any kinde of notice, that the said Earl had entred into any kinde of Treaty or Capitulation with those Irish Commissioners; much less, that he had Concluded or Signed those Articles so destructive both to Church and State, and so repugnant to his Majesties publick professions, and known resolutions.

And for the further vindication of his Majesties honor and integrity herein, He doth declare, That he is so far from considering any thing contained in those Papers or Writings framed by the said Earl, and those Commissioners with whom he treated, as he doth absolutely disavow him therein, and hath given

given commandment to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Councel there, to proceed againſt the ſaid Earl, as one who either out of falſeneſs, preſumption or folly, hath ſo hazarded the blemiſhing of his *Majeſties* Reputation with his good Subjects, and ſo impertinently framed thoſe Articles of his own head, without the conſent, privity, or directions of his Majeſty or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majeſties Councel there. But true it is, that for the neceſſary preſervation of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, whoſe caſe was daily repreſented unto him to be ſo deſperate, his Majeſty had given Commiſſion to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude ſuch a Peace there, as might be for the ſafety of that Crown, the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and no way derogatory to his own honor and publick profeſſions.

But to the end that his Majeſties real intentions in this buſineſs of *Ireland*, may be the more clearly underſtood, and to give more ample ſatisfaction to both Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, eſpecially concerning his Majeſties not being engaged in any peace or agreement there; He doth deſire, if the two Houſes ſhall admit of his Majeſties repair to *London* for a perſonal Treaty, (as was formerly propoſed) that ſpeedy notice be given thereof to his Majeſty, and a Paſs or ſafe Conduct, with a blank ſent for a Meſſenger to be immediately diſpatcht into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder his Majeſties reſolution of leaving the managing of the buſineſs of *Ireland* wholly to the Houſes, and to make no Peace there, but with their conſent, which in caſe it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſs his endeavors in the Treaty with ſucceſs, his

Majesty doth hereby engage himself to do.

And for a further explanation of his Majesties intentions in his former Messages, He doth now declare, that if his personall repaire to *London*, as aforesaid, shall be admited, and a peace thereon shall ensue, He will then leave the nomination of the persons to be intrusted with the *Militia*, wholly to his two Houses, with such power and limitations as are expressed in the paper delivered by his Majesties Commissioners at *Uxbridge* the sixth of February, 1644. for the term of seven years, as hath been desired, to be given immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the disbanding of all forces on both sides, and the dismantling of the Garrisons erected since these present troubles, so as at the expiration of the time before mentioned, the power of the *Militia* shall entirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further security, his Majesty (the peace succeeding) will be content, that *pro hac vice*, the two Houses shall nominate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges, to hold their places during life, or *quam diu se bene gesserint*, which shall be best liked, to be accountable to none but the King, and the two Houses of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion, his Majestie doth further declare, That by the Liberty offered in his Message of the 15 present, for the ease of their Consciences who will not communicate in the service already established by act of Parliament in this Kingdom, He intends that all other Protestants behaving themselves peaceably in and towards the Civill Government, shall have the free exercise of their Religion, according to their own way.

And for the totall removing of all Fears and Jealousies,

lousies, his Majesty is willing to agree, that upon the conclusion of peace, there shall be a generall Act of Oblivion and free pardon past by Act of Parliament in both his Kingdoms respectively.

And lest it should be imagined, that in the making these propositions, his Majesties Kingdom of *Scotland.* and his Subjects there have been forgotten or neglected, his Majesty declares, That what is here mentioned touching the *Militia*, and the naming of Officers of State, and Judges, shall likewise extend to his Kingdom of *Seotland.*

And now his Majesty having so fully and clearly expressed his intentions and desires of making a happy and well-grounded peace, if any person shall decline that happinesse by opposing of so apparent a way of attaining it, he will sufficiently demonstrate to all the World his intention and design can be no other, than the totall subversion and change of the ancient and happy governwent of this Kingdom under which the English Nation hath so long flourished.

Given at our Court at *Oxon the 29 of* January, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

21. *His Majesties Message for an Answer to His last. February* 26. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

HIs Majesty needs to make no excuse, though he sent no more Messages unto you: for He very well knows He ought not to do it, if He either stood upon punctilio's of honour, or his own private interest; the one being already call'd in question by his often sending, and the other assuredly prejudg'd if a peace be concluded from that He hath already offered, He having therein departed with many His undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto Him, to the preservation of His People, His Majesty passeth by many scruples, neglects, and delayes, and once more desires you to give Him a speedy Answer to His last Message; for His Majesty believes it doth very well become Him (after this very long delay) at last to utter His impatience, since the Goods and Blood of His Subjects cries so much for Peace.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the 26 day of *February*. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated, &c.*

22. *His Majesties Message for coming to* London, *upon the faith of the two Houses*, March, 23. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

NOtwithstanding the unexpected silence in stead of Answer to his Majesties many and gracious Messages to both Houses, whereby it may appear, that they desire to obtain their ends by force, rather than by Treaty, which may justly discourage His Majesty from any more overtures of that kind, yet his Majesty conceives, he shall be much wanting in his duty to God, and to what he oweth to the safety of his people, if he should not intend to prevent the great inconveniences that may otherwise hinder a safe and well-grounded Peace. His Majesty therefore now proposeth, that, so He may have the faith of both Houses of Parliament, for the preservation of his Honour, Person and Estate; and that Liberty be given to all those who do and have adhered to his Majesty to go to their own houses, and there to live peaceably enjoying their Estates, all Sequestrations being taken off, without being compelled to ta take any Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom, or being put to any other molestation whatsoever, He will immediately disband all his Forces, and dismantle all his Garrisons, and being accompanied with His Royal, not his Martiall Attendance, return to his two houses of Parliament, and there reside with them. And for the better security of all his Majesties Subjects, he proposeth that he with his said said two

Houses immediately upon his coming to *Westminster* will passe an Act of Oblivion and free pardon, and where his Majesty will further do whatsoever they will advise him for the good and peace of this Kingdom. And as for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, His MAJESTY hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great losse of time which must now be spent in expecting an answer from thence, but declares that, immediately upon his coming to *Westminster*, He will apply himself to give them all satisfaction touching that Kingdom. If his Majesty could possibly doubt the successe of this offer, He could use many arguments to perswade them to it; but shall only insist on that great One of giving an instant peace to these afflicted Kingdoms.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, *the 23 of March* 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, pro tempore, *To be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster.

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23. *His Majesties Message of* May 18. 1646. *from* Southwell; *Concerning his further Concessions for the obtaining of Peace.*

C. R.

HIs Majesty having understood from both his Houses of Parliament, that it was not safe for him to come to *London* (whither he had purposed to repair, if so he might, by their advice to do what soever

soever may be best for the good and peace of these Kingdoms) until he shall first give his consent to such propositions as were to be presented to him from them: And being certainly informed, that the Armies were marching so fast up to *Oxford*, and made that no fit place for treating, did resolve to withdraw himself hither, onely to secure his own person, and with no intention to continue this War any longer, or to make any division between his two Kingdoms, but to give such contentment to both, as, by the blessing of God, he might see a happy and well-grounded peace, thereby to bring prosperity to these Kingdoms, answerable to the best times of his progenitors.

And since the setling of Religion ought to be the chiefest care of all Councels, his Majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to his two Houses of Parliament, all the ways and means possible for speedy finishing this pious and necessary work; and particularly, that they take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms, assembled at *Westminster*. Likewise concerning the *Militia* of *England*, for securing his people against all pretentions of danger, his *Majesty* is pleased to have it setled as was offered at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, all the persons being to be named for the trust by the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, for the space of seven years; and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as shall be agreed upon by his *Majesty* and his two Houses of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Wars in *Ireland*, his *Majesty* will do whatsoever is possible for him, to give full satisfaction therein.

And

And if these be not satisfactory, his Majesty then desires that all such of the propositions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdoms, may be speedily sent unto him; his Majesty being resolved to comply with his Parliament in every thing that shal be for the happiness of his Subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences, which have produced so many sad effects.

His Majesty having made these offers, he will neither question the thankful acceptation of them; nor doth he doubt but that his two Kingdoms will be careful to maintain Him in his honor, and in His just and lawful Rights, which is the onely way to make a happy composure of these unnatural Divisions. And likewise will think upon a solid way of conserving the Peace between the two Kingdoms for the time to come. And will take a speedy course for easing and quieting his afflicted people, by satisfying the publick Debts, by Disbanding of all Armies, and whatsoever else shall be judged conducible to that end: that so all hinderances being removed, he may return to his Parliament with mutual comfort,

Southwell, May 18. 1646.

POSTSCRIPT.

His Majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of Blood, and to evidence his real intentions to Peace, is willing that his Forces in and about Oxford *be disbanded, and the Fortifications of the City Dismantled, they receiving honorable Conditi-*

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ons. Which being granted to the Town and Forces there, his Majesty will give the like Order to the rest of the Garrisons.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, pro tempore, *To be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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24. *His Majesties Message from* Newcastle, *June* 10. 1646. *For Propositions of Peace, and a personal Treaty at* London, *with his Letter to the Governors of all his Garrisons.*

C. R.

HIs Majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of his people in his three Kingdoms for some years past, and being afflicted with their distresses and unquiet condition, through the distractions about Religion, the keeping of Forces on foot in the Fields and Garrisons, the not satisfying of publick Debts, and the fears of the further effusion of blood, by the continuance of an unnatural War in any of these Kingdoms, or by renting and dividing these Kingdoms so happily united: And having sent a gracious Message unto both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, expressing the necessary causes of his coming from *Oxford* unto the *Scotish* Army, (without any intention to make a Division, where he is in freedom and right capacity to settle a true Peace) and containing such offers as he conceived would have been accepted, with a general clause

of

of complying with their desires; And being impatient of delays, and not acquainted with the particulars which may give contentment to them, His Majesty doth earnestly desire, That the propositions of Peace so often promised, and so much expected, may be speedily sent unto him, That upon consideration of them, he may apply himself to give such satisfaction, as may be the foundation of a firm Peace. And for the better and more speedy attaining thereunto, his Majesty doth further propound, That he may come to *London* with safety, freedom, and Honor, where he resolves to comply with his Houses of Parliament, in every thing which may be most for the good of his Subjects, and perfect what remains for setling both Kingdoms and people in a happy condition; being likewise most confident, That they according to their reiterated Declarations, and solemn Protestations, will be zealous in the maintenance of his Honor, and just and lawful Rights. And his Majesty desires the Houses of Parliament, to disburthen the Kingdom of all Forces and Garrisons in their power, except such as before these unhappy times have been maintained for the necessary defence and safety of this Kingdom; So he is willing forthwith to disband all his Forces and Garrisons within the same, as the inclosed Order herewith sent will evidence. And if upon these offers his Majesty shall have such satisfaction, as he may be confident a firm Peace shall ensue thereon, his Majesty will then give order for his *Son* the Prince his present return.

Newcastle, the tenth of June, 1646.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers,
pro tempore, *&c.*

Charls

C. R.

HAving resolved to comply with the desires of our Parliament, in every thing which may be for the good of our Subjects, and leave no means unassayed for removing all differences amongst us, Therefore we have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of our intentions of setling a happy and firm peace, to require you upon honorable terms to quit those Towns, Castles and Forts, intrusted to you by us, and to disband all the Forces under your several commands.

Newcastle the tenth of June, 1646.

To Our Trusty and well-beloved
- Sir *Thomas Glenham.*
- Sir *Thomas Tildesley.*
- Col. *H. Washington.*
- Col. *Thomas Blagg.*

Governors of our Cities and Towns of *Oxford*, *Lichfield*, *Worcester*, and *Wallingford.*

And all other Commanders of any Towns, Castles and Forts, in our Kingdom of *England.*

25. *His*

25. *His Majesties Message of* August 1. 1646. *from* Newcastle, *for a personal Treaty at or nerr* London, *upon the Propositions sent to him.*

C. R.

THe Propositions tendered to his Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England* assembled at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many moneths for deliberation, as they have assigned days for his Majesties Answer) do import so great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer before a full debate, wherein these Propositions, and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof, be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty, upon a full view of the whole Propositions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which he findes (upon discourse with the said Commissioners) that they are so bound up from any capacity, either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present judgement of, and answer to these propositions, whereby he can answer to God, that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the world can never be, unless the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and priviledges of the Parliament, be likewise setled) To which end his Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of his Houses there-

thereabouts, upon the publick Faith, and ſecurity of the two Houſes of *Parliament*, and the Scotch Commiſſioners, That he ſhall be there with freedom, honor, and ſafety, where by his perſonal preſence, he may not onely raiſe a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but alſo have theſe doubts cleared, and theſe difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be deſtructive to his juſt regal power, if he ſhall give a full conſent to theſe propoſitions as they now ſtand.

As likewiſe, that he may make known to them, ſuch his reaſonable demands, as he is moſt aſſured will be very much conducible to that peace, which all good men deſire and pray for, by the ſetling of Religion, the juſt priviledges of *Parliament*, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and his Majeſty aſſures them, that as he can never condeſcend unto what is abſolutely deſtructive to that juſt power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is born unto; So he will cheerfully grant and give his aſſent unto all ſuch Bills, at the deſire of his two Houſes, or reaſonable demands for *Scotland*, which ſhall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular (much leſs of any bodies elſe) in reſpect of the happineſs of theſe Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majeſty conjures them as Chriſtians, as *Subjects*, and as men who deſire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will ſo receive and make uſe of this anſwer, that all iſſues of blood may be ſtopped, and theſe unhappy diſtractions peaceably ſetled.

Newcaſtle, Auguſt 1. 1646.

POST-

POST-SCRIPT.

Upon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his perfect obedience to return into this Kingdom.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated, &c.*

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26. *His Majesties Message from* Newcastle, August 10. 1646. *with a general answer to the Propositions, and his desire to treat at or near* London.,

C. R.

THe Propositions tendered to his Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England* assembled at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many moneths for deliberation, as they have assigned days for his Majesties Answer) do import so great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer before a full debate, wherein these Propositions, and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof, be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty, upon a full view of the whole Propositions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which he findes (upon discourse with

with the said Commissioners) that they are so bound up from any capacity, either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present judgement of, and answer to these propositions, whereby he can answer to God, that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the world can never be, unless the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the *Subject*, with the just liberty and priviledges of the Parliament, be likewise setled) To which end his Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of his Houses thereabouts, upon the publick Faith, and security of the two Houses of *Parliament*, and the Scotch Commissioners, That he shall be there with freedom, honor, and safety, where by his personal presence, he may not onely raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be destructive to his just regal power, if he shall give a full consent to these propositions as they now stand.

As likewise, that he may make known to them, such his reasonable demands, as he is most assured will be very much conducible to that peace, which all good men desire and pray for, by the setling of Religion, the just priviledges of *Parliament*, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and his Majesty assures them, that as he can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is born unto; So he will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland*, which

shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular (much less of any bodies else) in respect of the happiness of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will so receive and make use of this answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably setled.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *&c.*

POSTSCRIPT.

UPon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his perfect obedience to return into this Kingdom.

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27. *His Majesties Message of* Decem. 20. 1646. *from* Newcastle, *for a personal Treaty at or near* London, *upon the faith of the two Houses.*

C. R.

HIs Majesties thoughts being always sincerely bent to the Peace of his Kingdoms, was and will be ever desirous to take all ways which might the most clearly make appear the candor of his intentions to his People; And to this end, could finde no better way than to propose a personal free debate with his two Houses of Parliament upon all the present differences. Yet finding very much against his expectations, that this offer was laid aside, his Majesty bent all his thoughts to make his intentions fully known

known by a particular answer to the propositions delivered to him in the name of both Kingdoms, the 24 of *July* last. But the more he endeavored it, he more plainly saw, that any answer he could make, would be subject to mis-informations and misconstructions, which upon his own Paraphrases and Explanations, he is most confident will give so good satisfaction, as would doubtless cause a happy and lasting Peace. Lest therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, his Majesty again proposeth, and desires again to come to *London*, or any of his houses thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and security of his two Houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, that he shall be there with honor, freedom and safety: Where, by his personal presence, he may not onely raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but allo have those doubts cleared, & those difficulties explained to him, without which he cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniencies) give a particular answer to the propositions: & with which he doubts not, but so to manifest his real intentions for the setling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom & property of the *Subject*, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men, to hinder the establishing of that firm peace which all honest men desire. Assuring them, as he will make no other demands but such as he believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the tranquility of the people. So he will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happiness. Not doubting likewise, but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just power of the Crown, according to your many protestations and professions. For certainly, except King and people have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'tis your King who desires to be heard (the which, if refused to a Subject by a King, he would be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end, which all men profess to desire. Wherefore his Majesty conjures you, as you desire to shew your selves really what you profess, even as you are good Christians and Subjects, that you will accept this his offer, which he is confident God will so bless, that it will be the readiest means, by which these Kingdoms may again become a comfort to their friends, and a terror to their enemies.

Newcastle, 20 *December*, 1646.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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28. *His Majesties Message of* February 17. 1646. *from* Holmby, *Concerning his Chaplains.*

SInce I have never dissembled, nor hid my Conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you desire my consent, I will not yet lose time in giving reasons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for me to be attended by some of my Chaplains, whose opinions, as Clergy-men, I esteem and reverence; not onely for the exercise of my Conscience, but also for clearing of my judgement concerning the present differences in Religion; as I have at full declared to Mr. *Marshall*,

Marshal, and his Fellow-minister, having shewed them, that it is the best and likeliest means of giving me satisfaction, which without it I cannot have in these times: Whereby the distractions of this Church may be the better setled. Wherefore I desire, that at least two of these *Reverend Divines*, whose Names I have here set down, may have free liberty to wait upon me, for their discharging of their duty unto me, according to their function.

Charls R.

Holmby, 17 *February*, 1646.

B. *London.*	D. *Sanderson.*
B. *Salisbury.*	D. *Baily.*
B. *London.*	D. *Heywood.*
D. *Shelden*, Clerk of my Closet.	D. *Beal.*
D. *Marsh*, Dean of *York.*	D. *Fuller.*
	D. *Hammond.*
	D. *Taylor.*

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, pro tempore, &c.

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29. *His Majesties Message of* March 6. 1646. *from* Holmby, *in pursuance of the former.*

C. R.

IT being now seventeen days since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed, concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not thus at this time trouble you with any of my desires.

But my being attended with some of my Chaplains, whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for me, even considering my present condition, whether it be in relation to my Conscience, or a happy settlement of the present distractions in Religion, that I will slight divers kinds of censures, rather than not to obtain what I demand; nor shall I do you the wrong, as in this, to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being totally grounded upon reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needfull to mention) the divers reasons, which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of Conscience, I must assure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in consideration those alterations in Religion, which have and will be offered unto me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judge rightly of, or be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied me; but when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to strive for victory in Argument, but to seek and submit to Truth (according to that judgment which God hath given me) alwayes holding it my best and greatest conquest to give contentment to my two Houses of Parliament in all things, which, I conceive not to be against my Conscience or honour; not doubting likewise but that you will be ready to satisfie me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my *Chaplains* upon me.

CHARLS R.

Holdenby 6 March 1946.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster.

His

30. *His Majesties Message, with his Answer in particular to the Propositions*, May 12. 1647. Holmby.

C. R.

AS the daily expectation of the coming of the Propositions hath made his Majesty this long time to forheare giving his Answer unto them, so the appearance of their sending being no more for any thing he can hear, than it was at his first coming hither, notwithstanding that the Earl of *Louderdale* hath been at *London* above these ten dayes, (whose not coming was said to be the only stop) hath caused his Majesty thus to anticipate their coming to him, and yet considering his condition, that his servants are denied accesse to him, all but very few, and those by appointment, not his own election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the Commissioners, or such who are particularly permitted by them, to converse with his Majesty, or that any Letters should be given to, or received from him, may he not truly say, that he is not in case fit to make Concessions, or give Answers, since he is not master of these ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any free-born man, how mean so ever his birth be? And certainly he would stil be silent as to this subject, until his condition were much mended, did he not prefer such a right understanding betwixt him and his Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and lasting peace in all his Dominions, before any particular of his own; or any earthly blessing, and therefore his Majesty hath diligently imployed his utmost endeavours for divers moneths past, so to inform his un-

derstanding, and satisfie his conscience, that he might be able to give such answers to the propositions, as would be most conformable to his Parliaments; but he ingenuously professes, that notwithstanding all the pains that he hath taken therein, the nature of some of them appears such unto him, that without disclaiming that reason which God hath given him to judge by, for the good of him and his people, and without putting the greatest violence upon his own Conscience, he cannot give his consent to all of them. Yet his Majesty (that it may appear to all the world how desirous he is to give full satisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to express his readiness to grant what he may, and his willingness to receive from them, and that personally if his two Houses at *Westminster* shall approve thereof, such further information in the rest, as may best convince his Judgement, and satisfie those doubts which are not yet clear unto him; desiring them also to consider, that if his Majesty intended to winde himself out of these troubles by indirect means, were it not easie for him now readily to consent, to what hath or shall be proposed unto him; and afterwards choose his time to break all, alledging, that forced Concessions are not to be kept: surely he might, and not incur a hard censure from indifferent men. But maximes in this kinde, are not the guides of his Majesties Actions, for he freely and clearly avows, that he holds it unlawful for any man, and most base in a King, to recede from his promises, for having been obtained by force or under restraint; wherefore His Majesty, not onely rejecting those acts which He esteems unworthy of him, but even passing by that which he might well insist upon, a point of Honour, in respect of his present condi-

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tion, thus answers the first proposition. That upon his Majesties coming to *London*, He will heartily joyn in all that shall concern the honour of his two Kingdomes, or the Assembly of the States of *Scotland*, or of the Commissioners or Deputies of either Kingdom, particularly in those things which are desired in that proposition, upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tenderness will look upon those things which concern his *M*ajesties honour.

In answer to all the propositions concerning Religion, his *M*ajesty proposeth, that he will confirm the Presbyteriall Government, the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and the *Directory*, for three years, being the time set down by the two Houses, so that his *M*ajesty and his household be not hindered from that form of Gods Service which they formerly have; And also that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster*, (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his *M*ajesty and the two Houses how the Church shall be governed after the said three years, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, his *M*ajesty is not yet therein satisfied, and desires to respite his particular Answer thereunto untill his coming to *London*, because it being a matter of conscience, he cannot give a resolution therein till he may be assisted with the Advice of some of his own Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied him) and such other Divines as shall be most proper to inform him therein; and then he will make clearly appear, both his zeal to the Protestant profession, and the union of these two Kingdoms, which he conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant. To the seventh and eighth Propositions his

his *Majestie* will consent. To the ninth, his *Majesty* doubts not but to give good satisfaction when he shall be particularly informed how the said penalties shall be levied and disposed of. To the tenth, his *Majesties* Answer is, That he hath been alwayes ready to prevent the practises of Papists, and therefore is content to passe an Act of Parliament for that purpose: And also that the Lawes against them be duly executed. His *Majestie* will give his consent to the Act for the due observation of the Lords day, for the supressing of Innovations, and those concerning the Preaching of Gods Word, and touching Non-residence and pluralities, and his *Majesty* will yeeld to such Act or Acts as shall be requisite to raise moneys for the payment and satisfying all publick debts, expecting also, that his will be therein included. As to the Proposition touching the *Militia*, though his *Majesty* cannot consent unto it *in terminis*, as it is proposed, because thereby he conceives, he wholly parts with the power of the Sword, entrusted to him by God and the Lawes of the Land, for the protection and government of his people, thereby at once divesting himself, and dis-inheriting his Posterity of that right and Prerogative of the Crown, which is absolutely necessary to the Kingly Office, and so weaken Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more than the name and shadow of it will remain: yet if it be only security for the preservation of the peace of this Kingdom, after the unhappy troubles, and the due performance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is desired (which his Maiesty alwayes understood to be the case, and hopes that herein he is not mistaken) his Majestie will give abundant satisfaction, to which end he is willing by Act of Parliament, That the whole power of the

Militia,

Militia, both by Sea and Land for the space of ten years be in the hands of such persons as the two Houses shall nominate, giving them power during the said terme to change the said person, and substitute others in their places at pleasure, and afterwards to return to the proper Chanel again, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* of blessed memory. And now his Majesty conjures his two Houses of Parliament, as they are Englishmen and lovers of Peace, by the duty they owe to his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, that they will accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyfull newes of peace may be restored to this languishing Kingdom. His Majesty will grant the like to the Kingdom of *Scotland* if it be desired, and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conserving of peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching *Ireland* (other things being agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction therein. As to the mutuall Declaration proposed to be established in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, and the Modifications, Qualifications, and branches which follow in the propositions, his Majesty onely professes, that he doth not sufficiently uuderstand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them; but this he well knoweth, That a generall Act of Oblivion is the best bond of peace; and that after intestine troubles, the wisdom of this and other Kingdoms hath usually and happily in all ages granted generall Pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of many persons & families otherwise exposed to ruine, might not become fuel to new disorders, or seeds to future troubles. His Majesty therefore desires, that his two Houses of Parliament would seriously descend into

into these considerations, and likewise tenderly look upon his condition herein, and the perpetuall dishonour that must cleave to him, if He shall thus abandon so many persons of Condition and fortune that have ingaged themselves with and for Him, out of a sense of duty, and propounds as a very acceptable testimony of their affection to him, that a generall Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith passed by Act of Parliment. Touching the new great Seal, his Majesty is very willing to confirm both it, and all the Acts done by vertue thereof, untill this present time, so that it be not thereby pressed to make void those Acts of his done by vertue of his great Seal, which in honour and justice He is obliged to maintaine: And that the future goverment thereof may be in his Majesty, according to the due course of Law. Concerning the Officers mentioned in the 19 Article, his Majesty when he shall come to *Westminster* will gratifie his Parliment all that possible He may, without destroying the alterations which are necessary for the Crown. His Majesty will willingly consent to the Act for the confirmation of the privileges and customes of the City of *London*, and all that is mentioned in the propositions for their particular advantage, And now that his Majesty hath thus far endeavoured to comply with the desires of his two Houses of Parliment, to the end that this agreement may be firm and lasting, without the least face or question of restraint to blemish the same, his Majesty earnestly desires presently to be admitted to his Parliament at *Westminster*, with that honour which is due to their Soveraigne, there solemnly to confirme the same, and legally to passe the Acts before menitoned, and to give and receive as well satisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewise such other

pledges

pledges of mutuall love, trust, and confidence, as shall most concern the good of him, and his People; upon which happy agreement, his Majesty will dispatch his Directions to the Prince his Son, to return immediately to him, and will undertake for his ready obedience thereunto.

Holmby, *May* 12. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster.

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31 *His Majesties Message with His Answer to the Propositions presented to Him at* Hampton-Court *Sept.* 9. 1647. Hampton-Court.

C. R.

HIs Majesty cannot chuse but be passionately sensible (as He believes all his good Subjects are) of the late great distractions, and still languishing and unsetled State of this Kingdom; and He calls God to witnesse, and is willing to give testimony to all the world of his readinesse to contribute his uttermost endeavors for restoring it to a happy & flourishing condition. His Majesty having perused the propositions now brought to him; findes them the same in effect, which were offered to him at *Newcastle*. To some of which as he could not then consent without violation of his conscience & honor; So neither can he agree to others now, conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present condition of affairs than when they were formerly presented unto him, as being destructive to the main principall interests of the Army

Army, and of all those, whose affections concur with them. And his Majestie having seen the propoſals of the Army to the Commiſſioners from his two Houſes reſiding with them, & with them to be treated on, in order to the clearing and ſecuring of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, & the ſetling of a Juſt and Laſting Peace. To which Propoſalls, as he conceives his two Houſes not to be ſtrangers; So he believes they will think with him, that they much more conduce to the ſatisfaction of all intereſts, and may be a fitter foundation for a laſting Peace, than the propoſitions which at this time are tendered unto Him. He therefore propounds (as the beſt way in his judgement in order to a peace) that his two Houſes would inſtantly take into conſideration thoſe propoſalls upon which there may be a perſonall Treaty with his Majeſty, and upon ſuch other propoſitions as his Majeſty ſhall make; hoping that the ſaid propoſalls may be ſo moderated in the ſaid Treaty, as to render them the more capable of his Majeſties full Conceſſion: Wherein he reſolves to give full ſatisfaction to his people, for whatſoever ſhall concern the ſetling of the Proteſt. Profeſſion, with liberty to tender conſciences, and the ſecuring of the Laws, Liberties & properties of his Subjects, & all the juſt Priviledges of Parliaments for the future: and likewiſe by his preſent deportment in this Treaty, he will make the World clearly judge of his intentions in matters of future Government. In which Treaty his Majeſty will be well pleaſed (if it be thought fit) that Commiſſioners from the Army, (whoſe the propoſalls are) may likewiſe be admitted. His Majeſty therefore conjures his two Houſes of Parliament, by the duty they owe to God & his Majeſty their King, and by the bowells of compaſſion they have to their fellow

low Subjects, both for relief of their present sufferings, and to prevent future miseries, that they will forthwith accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyfull newes of peace may be restored to this distressed Kingdom; And for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland* mentioned in the propositions, his Majesty will very willingly Treat upon those particulars with the *Scotch* Commissioners; and doubts not but to give reasonable satisfaction to that his Kingdom.

At Hampton-Court *the ninth of* September. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated, &c.*

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32. *His Majesties Message left on His Table at* Hampton Court, *Novemb.* 11. 1647.

C. R.

LIberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is the common theme and desire of all men; common reason shewes, that Kings lesse than any should endure captivity. And yet I call God and the world to witnesse, with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint: which so long as I had any hopes that this sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdoms, or the hindering of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo: but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not only turn to my personall ruine, but likewise be of much more prejudice, than furtherance to the publick good, I thought I was bound as well by naturall,

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as political obligations, to seek my safety, by retiring my self for some time from the publique view both of my Friends and enemies: And I appeal to all indifferent men, to judge, if I have not just cause to free my self from the hands of those who change their principles with their condition, and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the Nobility, taking away their negative voice, and with whom the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced than punished: And as for their intentions to my person, their changing and putting more strict Guards upon me, with the discharging most of all those servants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this retirement mis-interpreted; for I shall earnestly and unceſſantly endeavor the setling of a safe and well-grounded Peace, where ever I am or shall be; and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian blood: for which, how many times have I desired, prest to be heard, and yet no ear given to me? and can any reasonable man think, that (according to the ordinary course of affairs) there *can be a setled Peace without it: Or that God will bless those who refuse to hear their own King? Surely no. Nay, I must further adde, that (besides what concerns my self) unless as other chief interests, have not onely a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, those who have adhered to me, and even the Scots) I say there cannot (I speak not of Miracles, it being in my opinion, a sinful presumption, in such cases, to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting Peace.*

Now as I cannot deny, but that my personal se-

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curity is the urgent cause of this my retirement; so I take God to witnesse, that the publick peace is no lesse before mine eyes: and I can finde no better way to expresse this my profession (I know not what a wiser may do) than by desiring and urging that all chief Interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgement) to enjoy the liberty of their Consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity (which should extend to all the rest of my Subjects) and that all their arrears should be speedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from using such lawfull and honest means as I shall chuse. To conclude, let me be heard with Freedom, Honor, and safety, and I shall instantly break through this Cloud of retirement, and shew my self really to be *Pater Patriæ*.

Hampton-Court, *Novemb.* 11. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, *&c.*

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33. *His Majesties Message of* Novemb. 17. 1647. *for a personall Treaty, with his particular concessions. From the Isle of* Wight.

C. R.

HIs Majestie is confident that before this time, his two Houses of Parliament have received the Message which he left behind him at *Hampton Court* the Eleventh of this Moneth, by which they will

have understood the reasons which enforced him to go from thence, as likewise his constant endeavours, for the setling of a safe and well-grounded peace whersoever he should be: And being now in a place, where he conceives himself to be at much more freedom and security than formerly; He thinks it necessary (not only for making good of his own professions, but also for the speedy procuring of a peace in these languishing and distressed Kingdoms) at this time to offer such grounds to his two houses for that effect, which upon due examination of all Interests, may best conduce thereunto.

And because Religion is the best and chiefest foundation of peace, his Majesty will begin with that particular.

That for the abolishing Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. his Majesty clearly professeth, that he cannot give his consent thereunto, both in relation as he is a Christian and a King: For the first, He avows that He is satisfyed in his judgement, that this order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves; and ever since their time hath continued in all Christian Churches throughout the world, until this last century of years; and in this Church in all times of change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the wisdom of his Ancestors, as the great preserver of Doctrine, Discipline, and order in the service of God, As a King at his Coronation, he hath not only taken a solemn oath, to maintain this order, but his Majesty and his Predecessours in their confirmations of the great Charter, have inseparably woven the right of the Church into the liberties of the rest of the Subjects: and yet he is willing it be provided that the particular Bishops perform the several duties of their callings, both by their personall residence and frequent

quent preachings in their Dioceſſes, as alſo that they exerciſe no Act of uriſdiction or ordination, without the conſent of their Presbyters; and will conſent, that their powers in all things be ſo limited, that they be not grievous to tender Conſciences: Wherefore, ſince His Majeſty is willing to give eaſe to the Conſciences of others, He ſees no reaſon why He alone, and thoſe of his judgement, ſhould be preſſed to a violation of theirs. Nor can his Majeſty conſent to the alienation of Church Lands, becauſe it cannot be denied to be a ſin of the higheſt Sacriledge; as alſo, that it ſubverts the intentions of ſo many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curſe upon all ſuch profane violations, which his Majeſtie is very unwilling to undergoe: And beſides the matter of Conſcience, his Majeſty believes it to be a prejudice to the publick good, many of his Subjects having the benefit of renuing Leaſes at much eaſier Rates, than if thoſe poſſeſſions were in the hands of private men; not omitting the diſcouragement which it will be to all learning and induſtry when ſuch eminent rewards ſhall be taken away, which now lye open to the Children of meaneſt perſons.

Yet his Majeſty conſidering the great preſent diſtempers concerning Church-diſciplin, and that the Presbyterian Government is now in practice, his Majeſty to eſchew confuſion as much as may be, and for the ſatisfactiou of his two Houſes, is content that the ſaid Government be legally permitted to ſtand, in the ſame condition it now is for three years; provided, that his Majeſty, and thoſe of his judgement (or any other who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto) be not obliegd to comply with the Preſbyteriall Government, but have free practice of their own profeſsion, without receiving any prejudice

thereby; and that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster*, (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church government after the said time shall be setled, (or sooner if differences may be agreed) as is most agreeable to the Word of God; with full liberty to all those who shall differ upon Consciencious grounds from that settlement; alwayes provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tolerate those of the Romish profession, nor exempting of any Popish Recusant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate the publick profession of Atheism or Blasphemy, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles, Nicene and *Athanasian* Creeds, they having been received by, and had in reverence of all the Christian Churches, and more particularly by this of *England*, ever since the Reformation.

Next, the *Militia* being that right, which is inseparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown, by the Lawes of this Nation, and that which former Parliaments, as likewise this, hath acknowledged so to be, his Majesty cannot so much wrong that trust which the Laws of God and this Land have annexed to the Crown for the protection and security of His People, as to divest himself and Successors of the power of the Sword: yet to give an infallible evidence of His desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shall be made in order to a peace, his Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, for and during his whole Reign, shall be ordered and disposed by his two Houses of Parliament, or by such persons as they shall appoint, with powers limited for suppressing of Forces within this Kingdom, to the

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disturbance of the publick Peace, and against forreign invasions; and that they shall have power during his said Reign, to raise monies for the purposes aforesaid; and that neither His Majestie that now is, or any other (by any Authority derived only from him) shall execute any of the said Powers during His Majesties said Reign, but such as shall Act by the consent sent and Approbation of the two Houses of Parliament. Neverlesse His Majesty intends that all Patents, Commissions and other Acts concerning the *Militia*, be made and acted as formerly; and that after his Majesties reign, all the power of the *Militia* shall return entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of blessed memory.

After this head of the *Militia*, the consideration of the Arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow; for the payment whereof, and the ease of his people, his Majesty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of his Conscience and Honour. Wherefore if his two Houses shall consent to remit unto him such benefit out of Sequestrations from *Michaelmas* last, and out of Compositions that shall be made before the concluding of the peace, and the Arrears of such as have been already made, the assistance of the Clergy, and the Arrears of such Rents of His own Revenue as his two Houses shall not have received before the concluding of the peace, His Majesty will undertake within the space of Eighteen Moneths, the payment of 400 thousand pounds for the satisfaction of the Army: and if those means shall not be sufficient, his Majesty intends to give way to the sale of Forest-Lands for that purpose, this being the publick

Debt which in his Majesties judgment is first to be satisfied; and for other publick debts already contracted upon Church lands or any other Ingagements, his Majesty will give his consent to such Act or Acts for raising of monies for payment thereof, as both Houses shall hereafter agree upon, so as they be equally laid, whereby His people (already too heavily burthened by these late distempers) may have no more pressures upon them than this absolute necessitie requires: And for the further securing of all fears, his Majesty will consent, that an Act of Parliament be passed for the disposing of the great Offices of *State*, and naming of privy Councellours for the whole term of His reigne by the two Houses of Parliament, their Patents and Commissions being taken from his Majesty, and after to returne to the Crown, as is expressed in the Article of the *Militia*. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, his Majesty very well knows the consequence of taking that away, by turning of all Tenures into common Soccage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the protection of many of his *Subjects* being Infants. Nevertheless if the continuance thereof seem grievous to his Subjects, rather than He will fail on his part in giving satisfaction, He will consent to an Act for taking of it away, so as a full recompence be setled upon his Majesty and his Successours in perpetuity, and that the arrears now due be reserved unto him towards the payment of the arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of these late distractions may be wholly wiped away, his Majesty will consent to an Act of P. for the suppressing & making nul of all Oathes, Declarations and Proclamations against both or either House of Parliament, and of all Indictments and

and other proceedings against any persons for adhering to them: And his Majesty proposeth, (as the best expedient to take away all seeds of future differences) that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to all his subjects.

As for *Ireland* the cessation there is long since determined, but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) his Majesty will give full satisfaction to his two Houses concerning that kingdom.

And although his Majesty cannot consent in honour and justice to avoid all his own Grants and Acts past under his great seal since the two and twentieth of May, 1642 or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants passed under that made by the two Houses, yet his Majesty is confident, that upon perusall of particulars, He shall give full satisfaction to his two Houses, to what may reasonably be desired in that particular.

And now his Majesty conceives that by these His offers (which He is ready to make good upon the settlement of a peace) He hath clearly manifested His intentions to give full security and satisfaction to all Interests, for what can justly be desired in order to the future happinesse of his people, and for the perfecting of these concessions, as also for such other things as may be proposed by the two Houses, and for such just and reasonable demands, as his Majesty shall find necessary to propose on his part, He earnestly desires a personall Treaty at *London*, with his two Houses, in honour freedom, and safety, it being in his judgment the most proper, and indeed, only means to a firm and setled peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

All these things being by Treaty perfected, his Majesty believes his Houses will think it reasonable, that the proposalls of the Army concerning the Succession of Parliaments and their due elections, should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty will very readily apply himself to give all reasonable satisfaction, when the desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commissioners of that Kingdom, or of both joyned together, shall be made known unto him.

C. R.

From the Isle of Wight, *November* 17. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parl. at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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34. *His Majesties Message of December* 6. 1647. *for an Answer to his last from* Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

HAd His Majesty thought it possible that his two Houses could not be imployed in things of greater concernment than the peace of this miserable distracted Kingdom; He would have expected with more

more patience, their leisure in acknowledging the receipt of His Message of the 16 of November last. But since there is not in nature, any consideration preceding to that of peace, his Majesties constant tenderness of the welfare of His Subjects, hath such a prevalence with Him, that He cannot forbear the vehement prosecution of a personal Treaty: which is, onely, so much the more desired by his Majesty, as it is superiour to all other means of peace. And truly, when his Majesty considers the several complaints He dayly hears from all parts of this Kingdom, That Trade is so decayed, all commodities so dear, and Taxes so insupportable, that even naturall subsistence will suddenly faile; His Majesty (to perform the trust reposed in Him) must use His uttermost endeavours for peace, though He were to have no share in the benefit of it. And hath not his Majesty done His part for it, by devesting himselfe of so much power and authority, as by his last Message He hath promised to do, upon the concluding of the whole peace? And hath He met with that acknowledgment from his two Houses, which this great grace and favour justly deserves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of peace must fall somewhere else, than on his Majesty.

To conclude, if ye will but consider in how little time this necessary good work will be done, if you the two Houses will wait on his Majesty with the same resolutions for peace, as He will meet you, He no way doubts, but that ye will willingly agree to this his Majesties earnest desire of a personall Treaty, and speedily desire His presence amongst you: Where all things agreed on being digested into Acts (till when, it is most unreasonable for his Majesty or his two Houses to desire each of other the least con-

conceſſion) this Kingdom may at laſt enjoy the bleſſing of a long wiſht for Peace.

Carisbrook-Caſtle, Decemb. 6. 1647.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

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35. *His Majesties Meſſage and Anſwer to the four Bills, and the Propoſitions preſented to him at* Carisbrook-Caſtle, *before the Votes of* No Addreſs. Decemb. 28. 1647.

C. R.

THe neceſſity of complying with all engaged intereſts in theſe great diſtempers, for a perfect ſettlement of Peace, his Majeſty findes to be none of the leaſt difficulties he hath met with, ſince the time of his affections. Which is too viſible, when at the ſame time, that the two Houſes of the Engliſh Parliament do preſent to his Majeſty ſeveral Bills and Propoſitions for his conſent, the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* do openly proteſt againſt them. So that, were there nothing in the caſe, but the conſideration of that difference, his Majeſty cannot imagine how to give ſuch an Anſwer to what is now propoſed, as therby to promiſe himſelf his great end, *A perfect Peace*. And when his Majeſty further conſiders how impoſſible it is (in the condition he now ſtands) to fulfil the deſires of the two Houſes; ſince the onely ancient and known ways of paſſing Laws, are either by his Majeſties perſonal aſſent in the Houſe of Peers, or by Commiſſion under his great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at ſuch fail-

failings in the maner of addres, which is now made unto him; unles his two Houses intend, that his Majesty shall allow of a great Seal made without his Authority, before there be any consideration had thereupon in a Treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the security it self, so for the present, it seems very unreasonable to his Majesty.

And though his Majesty is willing to believe, that the intentions of very many in both Houses, in sending these Bills before a Treaty, was onely to obtain a Trust from him, and not to take any advantage by passing them to force other things from him, which are either against his Conscience or Honor: yet his Majesty believes it clear to all understandings, that these Bills contain (as they are now penned) not onely the divesting himself of all Soveraignty, and that without possibility of recovering it, either to him or his Successors (except by repeal of those Bills) but also the making his Concessions guilty of the greatest pressures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, so by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houses for ever, to raise and levy forces for Land or Sea service, of what persons (without distinction or quality) and to what numbers they please. And likewise for the payment of them, to leavy what monies, in such sort, and by such ways and means (and consequently upon the Estates of whatsoever persons) they shall think fit and appoint; Which is utterly inconsistent with the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and his Majesties trust in protecting them. So that if the Major part of both Houses, shall think it necessary to put the rest of the Propositions into Bills; his Majesty leaves all the World to judge, how unsafe it would be for him to consent thereunto. And if

not,

not, what a strange condition (after the passing of these foure Bils) his Majesty and all his Subjects would be cast into. And here his Majesty thinks it not unfit, to wish His two Houses to consider well the manner of their proceeding: That when his Majesty desires a personall Treaty with them for the setling of a peace; they in answer, propose the very subject matter of the most essentiall part thereof to be first granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to posterity. Wherefore his Majesty declares, That neither the desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome condition of life his Majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him, in case his 2 Houses shall not afford him a personall Treaty, shall make him change his resolution, of not consenting to any Act, till the whole peace be concluded. Yet then He intends not onely to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to him; but also to make good all other Concessions mentioned in his Message of the 16 of November last. Which He thought would have produced better effects, than what He findes in the Bils and propositions now presented unto him.

And yet his Majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a personall Treaty (so passionately is He affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his Majesty and all his Subjects) of which He will not at all dispair, (there being no other visible way to obtain a well grounded peace.) However his Majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Christian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two Houses to consider their

King,

King, and to compossionate their fellow-Subjects miseries.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle *in the* Isle of Wight, *Decemb.* 21. 1647.

For the Speaker of the Lords House pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of* England *at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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36. *His Majesties Message of August.* 10. 1648. *With His Answer to the Votes for a Treaty at the* Isle of Wight.

From Carisbrook. Castle.

C. R.

IF the peace of My Dominions were not much dearer to Me, than any particular interest whatsoever; I had too much reason to take notice of the severall Votes which passed against Me, and the sad condition I have been in now above these seven moneths. But since you My two Houses of Parliament have opened (is it seems to Me) a fair beginning to a happy peace, I shall heartily apply My self thereunto; and to that end, I will as clearly and shortly as I may, set you down those things which I conceive necessary to this blessed work, so that We together may remove all impediments, that may hinder a happy conclusion of this Treaty, which with all cheerfulnesse I doembrace.

And

And to this wished end, your selves have laid most excellent grounds; For what can I reasonably expect more, than to Treat with Honour, Freedome, and Safety, upon such Propositions as you have or shall present unto Me, and such as I shall make to you? But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names of things which make them rightly known; And that without means to perform, no Proposition can take effect: And truly My present condition is such, that I can no more treat, than a blinde man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet fast tied together; wherefore My first necessary demand is,

That you will recall all such Votes and Orders, by which people are frighted from coming, writing, or speaking freely to Me.

Next, that such men of all professions, whom I shall send for, as of necessary use to Me in this Treaty, may de admitted to wait upon Me. In a word, that I may be in the same state of freedom I was in when I was last at *Hamton-Court*. And indeed lesse cannot in any reasonable measure make good those offers which you have made Me by your Votes; for how can I treat with Honour, so long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders against coming to speak, or write to Me? And am I honorably treated, so long as there is none about me (except a Barber who came now with the Commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon Me, or with Freedom, (untill I may call such unto Me of whose services I shall have use in so great and difficult a work?) And for Safety (I speak not of my Person, having no apprehension on that way) how can I judge to make a safe and well-grounded peace, untill I may know (without disguise) the true present state of all My Do-

Dominions, and particularly of all those whose Interests are necessarily concerned in the Peace of these Kingdoms, which leads me naturally to the last necessary demand I shall make for the bringing of this Treaty to an happy end, which is;

That you alone, or you and I joyntly, do invite the *Scots* to send some persons authorized by them to treat upon such propositions as they shal make; for certainly the publick and necessary Interest they have in this great settlement, is so clearly plain to all the world, that I believe no body will deny the necessity of their concutrence in this Treaty, in order to durable peace. Wherefore I will onely say, that as I am King of both Nations, so I will yield to none in either Kingdom, for being truly and zealously affected for the good and honor of both; my resolution being never to be partial for either to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place (becaus I conceive it to be rather a circumstantial then real part of this Treaty, I shall not much insist upon it) I name *Newport* in this Isle, yet the fervent zeal I have, that a speedy end be put to these unhappy distractions, doth force me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great loss of time it will be to treat so far from the body of my two Houses, when every small debate (of which doubtless there will be many) must be transmitted to *Westminster* before it be concluded: And really I think (though to some it may seem a Paradox) that peoples mindes will be much more apt to settle, seeing me treat in or near *London*, then in this Isle, becaus so long as *I* am here, it will never be believed by many, that I am really so free, as before this Treaty begin, I expect to be; and so I leave and recommend this Point to your serious con-

consideration: And thus I have not only fully accepted of the Treaty, which you have proposed to me by your Votes of the third of this moneth; but also given it all the furtherance that lies in me, by demanding the necessary means, for the effectuall performance thereof; All which are so necessarily imployed by, though not particularly mentioned in your Votes, as I can no wayes doubt of your ready complyance with me herein: I have now no more to say, but to conjure you, by all that is dear to Christians, honest men, or good Patriots, that ye will make all the expedition posible to begin this happy work, by hasting down your Commissioners fully authorized and well instructed, and by enabling me (as I have shewed you) to Treat; praying the God of peace so to bless our endeavours, that all my Dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well-grounded peace.

Charls R.

For the Speaker of the Lords House
pro tempore, *&c.*

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37. *His Majesties Message of* August 28. 1648. *for some of His Councell and others to attend Him at the Treaty in the Isle of* Wight.

From Carisbrook-Castle.

MY Lord, and Master Speaker, I have received Letter of the 25 of this moneth, with the votes that you sent me, which though they are not so full as I could have wished, for the perfecting of a Treasy; yet because I conceive by what you have done, that

that I am in some measure fit to begin one (such is my unceſſant and earneſt deſire, to give a peace to theſe my now diſtracted Kingdoms, as I accept the Treaty;) and therefore deſire that ſuch five Lords and ten *Commons*, as My two Houſes ſhall appoint, be ſpeedily ſent, fully authorized and inſtructed to Treat with me, not doubting, but what is now wanting, will at our meeting upon debate be fully ſupplyed, not onely to the furtherance of this Treaty, but alſo of the conſummating of a ſafe and well-grounded peace.

So I reſt, your good Friend,

CHARLS R.

Here incloſed is a Liſt of the Names of ſuch perſons as I deſire.

Gentlemen of my Bed-chamber, Duke *Richmond*, Marqueſs *Hertford*, Earl *Lindſey*, Earl *Southampton*, Grooms of my Bed-chamber, *George Kirk*, *James Leviſton*, *Henry Murry*, *John Aſhburnham*, *William Leg*, *Thomas Daviſe*, Barber. Pages of my back-ſtairs *Hugh Hin*, *Humphrey Rogers*, *William Levett*. *Rives* Yeoman of my Robes. Querries, with four or five of my footmen, as they find fitteſt to wait. Sir *Edward Sydenham*, *Robert Terwit*, *Jo. Houſden*, Mrs. *Wheeler*, Landreſſe, with ſuch Maids as ſhe ſhall chooſe. Parſons, A Groom of the preſence. Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Captain *Titus*, Cap. *Burrowes*, Mr. *Creſſet*, *Hanſted*, *Abraham Douſet*, *Firebraſſe*. To wait *as they did, or as I ſhall appoint them.* Biſhop of *London*, B. of *Sarum*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Oldſworth*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Doctor *Turner*, Doctor *Heywood*. Lawyers, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir

Orlando Bridgeman, Sir *Robert Holburn*, Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, Mr. *Thomas Cooke*, Mr. *James Vaughan*. Clarks and Writers, Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr. *Phillip Warwick*, *Nicholaus Oudart*, *Charles Whittaker*. *To make ready the House for Treaty*. *Peter Newton*, *Clem. Kinersley*.

I desire in order to one of your Votes, that you would send me a free passe for *Parsons*, one of the Grooms of my presence Chamber to goe into *Scotland*, that you would immediately send him to me, to receive the dispatch thither.

For the Earl of Manchester, *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore, *and* William Lenthall, *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

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38. *His Majesties Message concerning the time of the Treaty, and for two Doctors of the Civill Law to attend his Majesty, Septem.* 7. 1648.

Carisbrook-Castle.

My Lord and Mr. Speaker,

I have received your Letter of the second of this moneth, containing the names of those who are to treat with me, and though they do not come at the time appointed, I shall not wonder at first, judging it too short, in respect of my two Houses, not of My self, so that I did not imagine it could be kept, (as I then commanded Sir *Peter Killegrew* to tell you by word of mouth) and therefore it shall be far from me

me to take exceptions for their having elapsed the appointed time, for God forbid that either my two Houses or I should carp at circumstances, to give the least impediment to this Treaty, much lesse to hinder the happy finishing of it: I say this the rather, because I know not how it is possible (in this I shall wish to be deceived) that in forty dayes Treaty, the many distractions of these Kingdomes can be setled; and if so, it were more then strange, that time enough should not be given for the perfecting of this most great and good work, which as I will not believe can be stuck on by the two Houses, so *I* am sure it shall never be, by

Your good Friend,

Carisbrooke 7. Sept. 1648.

CHARLS R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe in this Treaty there will be need of Civil Lawyers, I have sent for my Advocate *Rives* and D. *Duck*.

For the Lord Hunsdon, *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore, *and* William Lenthall *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

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39. *His Majesties Message for four Bishops and two Doctors of Divinity to attend His Majesty*, Novemb. 2. 1648. Newport.

The Names of the Bishops and Doctors desired by his Majesty to be sent to Him, Novemb. 2. 1648. *inclosed in a Letter from one of the Commissioners for the Parliament.*

C. R.

THe Bishop of *Armagh*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Fearne*, Dr. *Morley*.

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40. *His Majesties Message of Septemb.* 29. 1648. *containing His Concessions.* Newport.

HIs Majesty did use many earnest endeavours for a personall Treaty. Which he hoped might have been obtained at *Westminster*, between him and his two Houses of Parliament immediately; yet they having made choice of this way by you their Commissioners, His Majesty did gladly and cheerfully accept thereof in this place, as a fit means to begin a Treaty for peace, which might put an end to His own sad condition, and the miseries of His Kingdom: For an entrance whereunto, His Majestie hath already expressed his consent to the first Proposition: But finding you are limitted by Instructions which you have no warrant to communicate unto him; And having cause by your paper of the twenty of this present,

to

to believe that you have no power to omit, or alter any thing, though he shall give you such reasons as may satisfie you so to doe, without transmitting the papers to the two Houses at a far distance, where his Majesties reasons, expressions, and offers upon debate cannot be fully represented, and from whence their Answers cannot be returned without much waste of the time allotted for the Treaty here: And having lately received another paper concerning the Church, containing in it self many particulars of great importance, and referring to divers Ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other things (eleven or twelve in number) of great length, and some of them very new, and never before presented to his Majesty; The due consideration whereof will take up much time, and require his Majesties presence with his two Houses before a full resolution can well be had in matters of so high consequence; to the end therefore that the good work now in hand may (by Gods blessing) proceed more speedily and effectually to an happy conclusion; and that his two Houses of Parliament may at present have further security, and an earnest of future satisfaction; his Majestie upon consideration had of yours, makes these Propositions following,

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Concerning the Church.

HIs Majesty will consent that the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* be confirmed for three year by Act of Parliament.

And will by *Act* of Parliament confirm for three years the *Directory* for the publick Worship of God

in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewise confirm for three years by Act of Parliament the form of Church Government which ye have presented to him, to be used for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, provided, that his Majesty and those of His judgement; or any others, who cannot in Conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the same government or Form of Worship, but have free practice of their own profession. And that a free consultation and debate be had with the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, in the mean time, (20 of His Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament, how the said Church Government and form of publick worship after the said time may be setled, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. And how also Reformation of Religion may be setled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*. And the Articles of Christian Religion now delivered to him may in like manner be then considered of and determined, and care taken for the ease of tender Consciences.

And concerning the Bishops Lands and Revenues, his Majesty considering that during these troublesome times divers of His Subjects have made contracts and purchases, and divers have disbursed great summes of moneys upon security and engagement of those Lands; his Majesty for their satisfaction, will consent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legall estates for lives or for years (at their choice) not exceeding 99. years, shall be made of those lands towards the satisfaction of the said Purchasers, Contractors,

tractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or some other moderate Rent, whereby they may receive satisfaction.

And in case such Lease shall not satisfie, his Majesty will propound and consent to some other way for their further satisfaction;

Provided that the propriety and inheritance of those Lands may still remain and continue to the Church and Church-men respectively, according to the pious intentions of the Donors and Founders thereof: And the rent that shall be reserved to be for their maintenance.

His Majesty will give his Royall assent for the better observation of the Lords day; For suppressing of Innovations in Churches and Chappells, in and about the worship of God, and for the better advancement of the Preaching of Gods holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom. And to an Act against enjoying pluralities of Benefices by Spirituall persons, and Non-residency. And to an Act for regulating and Reforming both Universities, and the Colledges of *Westminster*, *Winchester* and *Eaton*.

His Majesty will consent to an Act for the better discovery and speedy conviction of Popish Recusants, as is desired in your Propositions; And also to an Act for the education of the children of Papists by *P*rotestants in the *P*rotestant Religion.

As also to an Act for the true levying of the penalties against *Papists*, to be levied and disposed in such manner, as both Houses shall agree on, and as is proposed on his Majesties behalf.

As also to an Act to prevent the practises of *Papists* against the State. *A*nd for putting the Laws in execution. *A*nd for a stricter course to prevent hearing and saying of Masse.

But, as to the Covenant, His Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, that He can either signe or swear it or consent to impose it on the consciences of others. Nor doth conceive it proper or usefull at this time to be insisted on.

Touching the *Militia*, His Maiestie conceives that your Proposition demands a far larger power over the persons and estates of His Subjects, than hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm: yet considering the present distractions require more, and trusting in His two Houses of Parliament that they will make no further use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distempers setled, than shall be agreeable to the legall exercise thereof in times past, or just necessity shall require, His Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament.

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now assembled, or hereafter to be assembled, or such as they shall appoint during the space of ten years, shall arm, train, and discipline, or cause to be armed, trained, or disciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gernsy* and *Gersey*, and the town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raised both for Sea and Land service; and shall from time to time during the space of ten years raise, levy, arm, train and discipline, or cause to be raised, levied, armed, trained and disciplined any other forces for Land and Sea service in the Kingdoms, Dominions, and places aforesaid, as in their judgments they shall from time to time during the said space of ten years think fit to appoint, and that neither

neither the King, his Heirs or Successors, or any other but such as shall act by the authority, or approbation of the said Lords and Commons, shall during the said space of ten years exercise any of the powers aforesaid.

That monies be raised and levied for the maintenance and use the said Forces for Land service, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea service, in such sort, and by such wayes and means as the said Lords and Commons shall from time to time during the said space of ten years think fit and appoint, and not otherwise.

That all the said Forces both for Land and Sea service so raised or levied, or to be raised or levied: and also the Admiralty and Navy shall from time to time during the said space of ten years be imployed, managed, ordered and disposed by the Lords and Commons in such sort, and by such wayes and means as they shall think fit and appoint, and not otherwise.

And the said Lords and Commons, or such as they shall appoint, during the said space of ten years shall have power.

TO suppresse all Forces raised, or to be raised, without authority and consent of the said Lords and Commons; to the disturbance of the publick peace of the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To suppress any Forraign Forces who shall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* Dominions of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Towne of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them,

And

And after the expiration of the said ten years, neither the King, his Heirs or Successors, or any person or persons by colour or pretence of any Commission, power, deputation, or authority to be derived from the King, his Heirs or Successors, or any of them, shall without the consent of the said Lords and Commons, raise, arm, train, discipline, imploy, order, manage, disband, or dispose any the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Isles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, Nor exercise any of the said powers or authorities herein before mentioned, and expressed to be during the space of ten years in the said Lords and Commons: Nor do any Act, or any thing concerning the execution of the said powers or authorities, or any of them, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons first had and obtained.

And with the same Proviso's for saving the ordinary legall power of Officers of justice, not being Military Officers, as is set down in your propositions.

And with a Declaration, That if any persons shall be gathered and assembled together, in a warlike manner, or otherwise, to the number of thirty persons, and shall not forthwith disperse themselves, being required thereto by the said Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them, especially authorized for that purpose; then such person or persons not so dispersing themselves, shall be guilty, and incur the pains of high Treason, being first declared guilty of such offence, by the said Lords and Commons: any Commission under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary, notwithstanding. And he or they that shall so offend herein to be

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uncapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors.

And likewise that it be provided that the City of *London* shall have and enjoy all their rights, liberties, *&c.* in raising and imploying the Forces of that City, in such sort as is mentioned in the said proposition.

With these proviso's following to be inserted in the said Act.

1 THat none be compelled to serve in the war against their wills, but in case of coming in of strange enemies into this Kingdom.

And that the powers above mentioned, as concerning the Land Forces, other than for keeping up and maintenance of Forts, and Garrisons, and the keeping up, maintaining, and pay of this present Army, so long as it shall be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament; be exercised to no other purposes than for the suppressing of Forces raised or to be raised, without authority and consent of the said Lords and Commons as aforesaid, or for suppressing of any Forrain Forces which shall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms, Dominions or places aforesaid.

And that the monyes be raised by generall and equal Taxations, saving that Tonnage and Poundage, and such Imposts as have been applyed to the Navy, be raised as hath been usuall.

And that all Patents, Commissions, and other Acts concerning the premises be made and acted in his Majesties name by Warrant, signified by the Lords and Commons, or such others as they shall authorise for that purpose.

If

If it shall be more satisfactory to His two Houses to have the Militia, and powers thereupon depending, during the whole time of his Majestis reign, rather than for the space of ten years, his Majesty gives them the election.

TOuching *Ireland*, His Majesty having in the two preceding propositions given His consent concerning the Church, and the *Militia* there in all things, as in *England*: As to all other matters relating to the Kingdom, after advice with his two Houses, he will leave it to their determination, and give his consent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expressed.

Touching publick debts, his Majesty will give His consent to such an Act, for raising of monies by generall and equall Taxations, for the payment and satisfying the Arrears of the Army, publick debts and engagements of the Kingdom, as shall be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament, and shall be audited and ascertained by them, or such persons as they shall appoint, within the space of twelve months, after the passing of an Act for the same.

His Majesty will consent to an Act, that during the said space of ten years the Lord Chancellour, or Lord Keeper, Commissioners of the Great Seal, or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of *England*, be nominated by both Houses of the Parliament of *England* to continue *quam diu se bene gesserint*: And in the intervals of Parliament, by such others as they shall authorize for that purpose.

His Majesty will consent that the *Militia* of the City

City of *London*, and Liberties thereof, during the space of ten years, may be in the ordering and Government of the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Commons in the Common Councel assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint (whereof the Lord Major and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be imployed and directed from time to time during the said space of ten years, in such manner as shall be agreed upon and appointed by both Houses of Parliament; And that no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Officers of the said City, shall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the said City, or Liberties thereof, for Military service, without their own free consent.

That an Act be passed for granting and confirming the Charters, Customs, Liberties and Franchises of the City of *London*, notwithstanding any *Non user*, *Misuser*, or *Abuser*.

And that during the said ten years, the Tower of *London* may be in the Government of the City of *London*, and the Chief Officer and Governor from time to time during the said space to be nominated, and removable by the Common Councel, as are desired in your propositions.

His Majesty having thus far expressed his consent for the present satisfaction and security of his two Houses of Parliament, and those that have adhered unto them, touching your four first propositions, and other the particulars before specified: As to all the rest of your propositions delivered to him at *Hampton Court*, (not referring to those heads) and to that of the Court of Wards since delivered; as also to the remaining propositions concerning *Ireland*; His Majesty desires onely when he shall come to *Westminster*, personally to advise with his two Houses,

Houses, and to deliver his opinion, and the reasons of it; which being done, he will leave the whole matter of those remaining Propositions, to the determination of his two Houses, which shall prevail with him for his consent accordingly.

And his Majesty doth (for his own particular) onely propose that he may have Liberty to repair forthwith to *Westminster*, and be restored to a condition of absolute freedom and safety, (a thing which he shall never deny to any of his Subjects) and to the possession of his Lands and Revenues; and that an Act of Oblivion and Indempnity may pass, to extend to all persons, for all matters relating to the late unhappy differences: which being agreed by his two Houses of Parliament, His Majesty will be ready to make these his Concessions binding, by giving them the force of Laws by His Royal assent.

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1. *His Majesties Declaration to all his People*, Jan. 18, 1647. *from* Carisbrook-Castle, *after the Votes of* No Address.

AM I thus laid aside, and must I not speak for my self? No! I will speak, and that to all my people, (which I would have rather done, by the way of my two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publick Order, neither to make addresses to, or receive Messages from me) and who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt me and my two Houses? I know none else, for I am sure, you it is, who will enjoy the happiness, or feel the misery, of good or ill Government; and we all pretend who should run fastest to serve you; without having a regard

regard (at least in the first place) to particular Interests: And therefore *I* desire you to consider the state I am, and have been in, this long time, and whether my actions have more tended to the publick, or my own particular good; for whosoever will look upon me barely as I am a man, without that liberty (which the meanest of my Subjects enjoys) of going whether, or conversing with whom I will: as a Husband and Father, without the comfort of my Wife and Children. Or lastly, as a King, without the least shew of Authority or Power, to protect my distressed Subjects; must conclude me, not onely void of all natural affection, but also to want common understanding, if I should not most chearfully embrace the readiest way to the settlement of these distracted Kingdoms: As also on the other side, do but consider the form and draught of the Bills lately presented unto me, and as they are the conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude, that the same Spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all my sincere and constant endeavors for Peace, hath had a powerful influence on this Message; for though I was ready to grant the substance, and comply with what they seem to desire, yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding my conscience and Honor, and betraying the Trust reposed in me, by abandoning my people to the Arbitrary and unlimitted power of the two Houses for ever, for the leavying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without distinction of quality, or limitation for money taxes: And if I could have passed them in tearms, how unheard of a condition were it for a Treaty, to grant before hand the most considerable part of the Subject matter? How ineffectual were that debate like to prove, wherein the

the most potent party had nothing of moment left to ask, and the other nothing more to give? So consequently, how hopeless of mutual complyance? Without which, a settlement is impossible: Besides, if after my concessions, the two Houses should insist on those things, from which I cannot depart, how desperate would the condition of these Kingdoms be, when the most proper and approved remedy should become ineffectual? Being therefore fully resolved, that I could neither in conscience, honor, or prudence, pass those four Bills; *I* onely endeavored to make the Reasons and Justice of my Denyal appear to all the World, as they do to me, intending to give as little dis-satisfaction to the two Houses of Parliament, (without betraying my own cause) as the matter would bear: I was desirous to give my answer of the 28 of *December* last, to the Commissioners sealed, (as I had done others heretofore, and sometimes at the desire of the Commissioners) chiefly, because when my Messages or Answers were publickly known, before they were read in the Houses; prejudicial interpretations were forced on them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to my meaning. For example, my Answer from *Hampton-Court*, was accused of dividing the two Nations, because I promised to give satisfaction to the *Scots*, in all things concerning that Kingdom: And this last suffers in a contrary sense, by making me intend to interest *Scotland* in the Laws of this Kingdom (then which nothing was, nor is further from my thoughts) because *I* took notice of the *Scots* Commissioners protesting against the Bills and Propositions, as contrary to the interests and engagements of the two Kingdoms: Indeed, if *I* had not mentioned their dissent, an Objection, not with-

without some probability, might have been made against me, both in respect the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill for the *Militia*, and in severall other Propositions; and my silence might, with some justice, have seemed to approve of it: But the Commissioners refusing to receive my answer sealed. I (upon the engagement of their, and the Governours Honour, that no other use should be made, or notice taken of it, then as if it had not been seen) read and delivered it open unto them. Whereupon, what hath since passed, either by the Governour, in discharging most of my servants, redoubling the Guards, and restraining me of my former Liberty, (and all this, as himselfe confest, meerly out of His own dislike of my answer, notwithstanding His beforesaid engagment) or afterwards, by the two Houses, (as the Governour affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this Castle, I appeale to God and the World, whether my said Answer deserved the reply of such proceedings: besides the unlawfulnesse for Subjects to imprison their King: That, by the permission of Almighty God, I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine, so I am not with out hope, but that the same God, will, in due time, convert these afflictions to my advantage: in the mean time I am confident to bear these crosses with patience and equality of minde: but by what means or occasion I am come to this Relapse in my affaires, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed to my two Houses of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdom, all, but what is much more dear to me than my Life, my Conscience and Honor, desiring nothing more than to performe it, in the most proper and naturall way, A Personall

Treaty. But that which makes me most at a loss, is, the remembring my signal compliance with the Army, and their interests, and of what importance my complyance was to them, and their often repeated Professions and *I*ngagemeers for my just Rights in general, at *Newmarket* and *St. Albans*, and their particular explanation of those generals, by their Voted and Re-voted Propolals, which *I* had reason to understand, should be the uttermost extremity would be expected from me, and that in some things therein, *I* should be eased; (herein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefest Officers in the Army, if what *I* have said be not punctually true) and how *I* have failed of their expectations, and my professions to them; I challenge them and the whole world to produce the least colour of Reason. And now *I* would know, what is it that is desired: Is it Peace? *I* have shewed the way (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is, a just complyance with all chief interests: *Is* it plenty and happiness? they are the inseparable effects of Peace: *Is* it security? *I* who wish that all men will forgive and forget like me, have offered the *Militia* for my time: *Is* it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, is most ready to give it: *Is* it the right Administration of Justice? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament: Is it frequent Parliaments? *I* have legally, fully concurred therewith: *Is* it the Arrears of the Army? Upon a settlement, they will certainly be paid with much ease; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.

Thus all the World cannot but see my real and unwearied endeavors for Peace, the which by the

the Grace of God) *I* ſhall never repent me of, nor ever be ſlackned in, notwithſtanding my paſt, preſent, or future ſufferings; but if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obſtructs the good I would or might do: What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? *It* cannot be Reaſon, (at leaſt, none will declare themſelves ſo unreaſonable, as to confeſs it) and it can leſs be impertinent or unreaſonable diſcourſes; for thereby, peradventure *I* might more juſtifie this my reſtraint, then the Cauſers themſelves can do; ſo that, of all wonders, yet this is the greateſt to me: but it may be eaſily gathered how thoſe men intend to govern, who have uſed me thus: and if it be my hard Fate to fall together with the liberty of this Kingdom, *I* ſhall not bluſh for my ſelf, but much lament the future miſeries of my People; the which *I* ſhall ſtill pray to God to avert, what ever becomes of me.

C. R.

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2. *His Majeſties Declaration concerning the Treaty, and his diſlike of the Armies Proceedings, delivered by his Majeſty to one of his Servants at his departure from the Iſle of* Wight, *commanded to be publiſhed for ſatisfaction of all his Subjects,* Anno 1648.

WHen large pretences prove but the ſhadows of weak performance, then the greateſt labors produce the ſmalleſt effects; and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all mens ears do (as it were) hunger, till they are ſatisfied in their expectations. Hath not this diſtracted Nation

groaned a long time under the burthen of Tyranny and Oppression? and hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon my head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty? and was it not requisite to endeavor the stopping of that flux, which, if not stopt, will bring an absolute destruction to this Nation? And what more speedy way was there to consummate those distractions then by a *Personal Treaty*, being agreed upon by my two Houses of Parliament, and condiscended to by me? and I might declare, that *I* conceive it had been the best Physick, had not the operation been hindred by the interposition of this imperious Army, who were so audacious as to stile me in their unparallel'd Remonstrance, *their capital Enemy*; but let the World judge, whether mine indeavors have not been attended with reality in this late Treaty; and whether I was not as ready to grant, as they were to ask, and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that pursue their own ambitious ends more then the welfare of a miserable Land. Were not the dying hearts of my poor distressed people, much revived with the hopes of a happiness from this Treaty? and how suddenly are they frustrated in their expectations? Have not I formerly been condemned for yielding too little to my two Houses of Parliament, and shall I now be condemned for yielding too much? Have I not formerly been imprisoned for making war, and shall I now be condemned for making Peace? Have I not formerly ruled like a King, and shall I now be ruled like a Slave? Have I not formerly enjoyed the society of my dear Wife and children in peace & quietness, and shall I now neither enjoy them nor peace? Have not my Subjects formerly obeyed me, and shall I now

how be obedient to my Subjects? Have I not been condemned for evil Counsellors, and shall I now be condemned for having no Counsel but God? These are unutterable miseries, that the more I endeavor for peace, the less my endeavors are respected: And how shall I know hereafter what to grant, when your selves know not what to ask? I refer it to your Consciences, whether I have not satisfied your desires in every particular since this Treaty; if you finde I have not, then let me bear the burthen of the fault: but if I have given you ample satisfaction (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate me from the fury of those whose thoughts are fill'd with blood: though they pretend zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheeps cloathing.

I must further declare, that I conceive there is nothing can more obstruct the long-hoped-for peace of this Nation, then the illegal proceedings of them that presume from Servants to become Masters, and labor to bring in Democracy, and to abolish Monarchy. Needs must the total alteration of fundamentals be, not onely destructive to others, but in conclusion to themselves: for they that endeavor to rule by the sword, shall at last fall by it; for Faction is the mother of Ruine: and it is the humor of those who are of this Weathercock-like disposition, to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that please them, but onely *pro tempore*, for the too much variety doth but confound the senses, and makes them still hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the best cure for Faction, for it will at length (like a spreading Leprosie) infect the whole body of the Kingdom, and make it so odious, that

at last they will hate themselves for love of that, and like the Fish, for love of the bait, be catch'd with the hook.

I once more declare to all my loving Subjects, and God knows whether or no this may be my last, that I have earnestly labored for Peace, and that my thoughts were sincere and absolute, without any sinister ends, and there was nothing left undone by me, that my Conscience would permit me to do. And I call God to witness, that I do firmly conceive that the interposition of the Army (that cloud of malice) hath altogether eclipsed the glory of that Peace, which began again to shine in this Land. And let the world judge whether it be expedient for an Army to contradict the Votes of a Kingdom, endeavoring, by pretending for Laws and Liberties, to subvert both. Such Actions as these must produce strange consequences, and set open the flood-gates of ruine, to overflow this Kingdom in a moment. Had this Treaty been onely mine own seeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have stopt the course of it; but I being importun'd by my two Houses, and they by most part of the Kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concur with them in their desires, for the performance of so commodious a work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and eyes of my people are opened so much that they plainly discover who are the underminers of this Treaty.

For mine own part, I here protest before the face of Heaven, that mine own afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict me not so much as my peoples sufferings: for, I know what to trust already, and they know not: God comfort both them and me, and proportion our patience to our sufferings!

And

And when the malice of mine Enemies is spun out to the smallest thred, let them know, that I will, by the Grace of God, be as contented to suffer, as they are active to advance my sufferings: and mine own soul tells me, that the time will come, when the very clouds shall drop down vengeance upon the heads of those that Barricado themselves against the proceedings of Peace; for if God hath proclaimed a blessing to the Peace-makers, needs must the Peace-breakers draw down curses upon their heads.

I thank my God, I have armed my self against their fury: and now let the arrows of their envy flie at me, I have a brest to receive them, and a heart possest with patience to sustain them: for God is my Rock and my Shield, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me. I will expect the worst, and if any thing happen beyond my expectation, I will give God the glory, for vain is the help of man.

His Majesties
LETTERS,
TO
Severall *PERSONS.*

Lerters written by His Majeſty to ſeverall Perſons ſince the beginning of this Parliament, heretofore publiſhed at ſeverall times, and now collected into one body.

Together with thoſe intercepted Letters publiſhed by the Parliament, before which is prefixed his Majeſties Letrer to Secretary *Nicholas* concerning the Publiſhing of them; and part of one of his Majeſties Declarations concerning the ſame.

1. *To the Houſe of Peers, about the Reprieve of the Earl of* Strafford, *ſent by the Prince*, May 11. 1641. *from* Whitehall.

My Lords,

I Did yeſterday ſatisfie the juſtice of the Kingdom by paſſing the Bill of attainder againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; but mercy being as inherent and inſeperable to a King, as Juſtice; I deſire at this time in ſome meaſure to ſhew, that, likewiſe by ſuffering that unfortunate man to fulfill the naturall courſe of his life in a cloſe impriſonment; yet ſo, that if ever he make the leaſt offer to eſcape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any ſort of publick buſineſs; eſpecially with me, either by Meſſage, or Letter, it ſhall coſt him his life without further proceſſe. This, if it may be done without the diſcontentment of My people, will be an unſpeakable contentment to me.

To

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, that of all your House is most dear unto me. So I desire, that by a Conference, you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment: likewise assuring you, that the exercise of mercy is no more pleasing to me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law, in so important a case.

I will not say that your complying with me, in this my intended mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerfull in granting your just grievances. But if no lesse than his life can satisfie my people, I must say *fiat justitia*. Thus again recommending the considerations of my intentions to you I rest.

Whitehall, May 11. 1641.

Your unalterable and affectionate Friend, C. R.

If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

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2. *To the Lord Keeper, about Mr. Attorney Generall, March* 4. 1641. *From* Royston.

C. R.

RIght trusty and well beloved Counsellour, We greet you well, and have thought good hereby to certify that we did the third of *January* last, deliver

ver to our Attorney certain Articles of Accusation ingrossed in paper, a copy whereof We have sent here inclosed; and did then command him in Our Name, to acquaint our House of Peers, that divers great and treasonable designes and practises against us and the State had come to our knowledge, for which We commanded him, in Our Name to accuse the six persons in the said paper mentioned of High Treason, and other high misdemeanours by delivering the paper to Our said House, and to desire to have it read, and further, to desire in Our Name, that a select Committee of Lords might be appointed to take the examinations of such Witnesses as We would produce, and as formerly had been done in cases of like nature, according to the justice of the House, and the Committee to be under a command of Secrecy as formerly, and further in our Name to ask liberty, to adde and alter if there should be cause: We do further declare that Our said Attorney, did not advise or contrive the said Articles, nor had any thing to do with, or in advising any breach of privilege that followed after. And for what he did in obedience to Our commands, We conceive he was bound by oath, and the duty of his place, and by the trust by us reposed in him so to do: And had he refused to obey us herein, We would have questioned him for breach of Oath, Duty, and Trust.

But now having declared, that We find cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the persons accused, We have commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same.

Given at Royston, *March* 4. 1641.

3. *To the Lord Keeper, about the Lord Admirall*, March 21. 1642. *From* York.

RIght trusty and well-beloved Counsellour, We greet you well: we wonder both at the forme and matter of that inclosed paper, ye sent Us (in the name of both Houses of Parliament, in yours of the 28 of *March*) it being neither by way of petition, Declaration, or Letter; and for the matter We believe it is the first time that the Houses of Parliament have taken upon them the nomination, or recommendation of the chief *Sea*-commander; but it adds to the wonder, that Sir *John Pennington*, being already appointed by Vs for that service, upon the recommendation of Our Admirall (which is so well known, that none can be ignorant of it) and no fault so much as alledged against him, another should be recommended to Vs: Therefoe Our resolution upon this point is, that We will not alter him, whom We have already appointed to command this years Fleet, whose every way sufficiency is so universally known, the which we are confident Our Admirall (if there shall be occasion) will make most evident, (against whose testimony we suppose Our Parliament will not except.) And though there were yet none appointed, or the said Sir *John* (through some accident) not able to perform the service, yet the men of that profession are so well known to Vs (besides many other reasons) that (Our Admirall excepted because of his place) recommendations of that kind would not be acceptable to Vs.

Given at Our Court at York, *March* 31. 1642.

4. *To*

4. *To the Maior of* Hull, *Aprill* 25. 1645. *From* York.

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have been long ſenſible of the juſt complaints, and great burthens of Our Subjects in theſe Northern parts, by occaſion of the Garriſon in Our Town of *Hull*; And whereas We were upon Friday the 22 of this Moneth, petitioned by divers of the Gentry, and others, inhabitants of this County, That the munition at *Hull*, might remain in the Magazine there, for the ſecurity of our Perſon, and of all theſe Northern parts, their fear being much grounded upon the Parliaments relations of Forrain Invaſions: Vupon which, the more to expreſſe Our care of Our peoples ſafety, We did our ſelf go in perſon to that Our Town, that upon Our own view, We might conſult what proportion of it might be fitly removed upon any preſſing occaſion, having a reſpect to the promiſed ſupply for *Scotland*, the neceſſary uſe of Arms for *Ireland*, as well as for the ſafeguard and ſatisfaction of theſe Northern parts. But much contrary to Our expectation, and the duty and Allegiance of Our Subjects, we found the Gates of that Our Town ſhut, and the Bridges drawn up againſt Vs: And though We came in a peaceable way, repoſing the greateſt confidence in the love and loyalty of Our people, by offering (as We did) to put Our own Perſon, and Our two Sons, but with twenty horſe, into that Town, there being in it a Garriſon of about eight hundred Souldiers; yet We were not onely denied entrance, but in a warlike manner oppoſed by Sir *John Hotham*, the armed

armed men being placed in all the Ports, and about all the Walls of the Town, alleaging (though falsely) for his excuse, the Command of the Parliament, and being pressed by us to shew such an Order in writing, He could not do it; for We were ever very confident, that there was never any publick order of theirs, that could so much as imply a denial to our admission; We knowing well enough, that he was entrusted by them for a guard and security of that place against Forraign Enemies, or those at home who are disaffected in Religion, and not against his Naturall Soveraign; which hostile Opposition and actuall leavying of War against Our person, being by the Statute of 25. *Ed.* 3. Enacted High treason, which statute considered, and that for the avoiding of all jealousies, as we have said, We were content to have been admitted with so very small a number in our Company; We were thereupon constrained to Proclaim the said *Sir John Hotham*, and all those that should adhere to, or assist him, Traitors. Of all which abovesaid passages, We have acquainted our *P*arliament, demanding justice to be done upon him, that they might thereby have opportunity to vindicate the imputation laid on them by Sir *John Hotham*, and We the easier way to chastise, according to the Law, so high a Treason. And least a misunderstanding of Our intentions, or of the Law may misguide any of Our loyall and well affected Subjects, the Inhabitants, Captains, Officers, or Souldiers in that Town, we have thought fit to commend to your consideration the aforesaid Statute, with that of the eleventh of *Henry* the seventh *chap.* 1.

Wherein it is declared, by the unanimo assent of *P*arliament, *That the Subjects of this Realm are bound*

bound by the duty of Allegiance, to serve the King, for the time being, for the defence of His person and the Land, against every Rebellion, Might. or Power, raised against Him, and with his Majesty to enter or abide in service, in battel, if cause so require. And it was therefore then Enacted, *That from thenceforth no person whatsoever that shal attend upon the King or be in place, by His command, within or without the Land, that for the same deed and true service of Allegiance, he and they be no wayes attaint or convict of high Treason, or of other offences for that cause, by any processe of Law, whereby he or any of them, shall lose or forfeit Lives, Lands, Tenements, Goods, or any thing, but be for that deed and service utterly discharged of any vexation, trouble, or losse: And if any Act or Acts, of other process of Law thereupon for the same happen to be made contrary to this Ordinance, that then that Act or Acts, or other processe of the Law whatsoever they shall be, stand and be utterly void.*

All which, together with the Copies of Our Message and Petition (which we send here inclosed) We require you to publish to the Inhabitants, and all such Commanders and Souldiers as will hear them: That knowing both the perill of the Law on the one side, and the security of such as shall adhere unto us on the other, they be not misled (through ignorance) to decline their allegiance: And that the Souldiers may lay down their arms, and admit our entrance in a peaceable way. In so doing you shall both discharge your duties, and those that shall have need, be assured to find (upon such their submission) Our ready mercy and pardon. And we do likewise require and charge all you, the Inhabitants as well Souldiers as others upon your allegiance, that you permit not any part of Our Magazine or Munition to be

removed or transported out of that Town under any pretence of Order or power whatsoever, without our Royall assent in writing under Our hand. Assuring you, that it will be much more pleasing to us to have occasion administred by the fidelity of the Inhabitants to enlarge those graces and immunities granted to that Town by Our Predecessors, than to have any occasion to question your Charter.

Given at Our Court at York, *the twenty fifth of Aprill* 1642.

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5. *To the High Sheriffe of Yorkeshire, May* 5. 1642. *From* York.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas We understand, that Sir *John Hotham* takes upon him (without any legall authority or power) to issue Warrants to Constables, and other Our Officers, to raise divers of Our Trained Bands of this Our Countrey, and requires them to march with their arms, and to come into Our Town of *Hull*, where he hath disarmed divers of them, keeps their arms, and discharges the men. And wheras We are credibly informed, that divers persons who were lately Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Officers of the Trained Bands of this Our County, intend shortly to summon, and endeavour to muster the forces of this Our County; Forasmuch as by the Law of the Land, none of Our Trained Bands are to be raised or mustered, upon any pretence or authority whatsoever, but by special warrant under Our own hand, or by a legall Writ directed to the Sheriff of the County, or by Warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenants of the County, appointed

ted and authorized by Commission under Our Great Seal; And whereas at present there is no Lord Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenant legally authorized to command the forces and Trained Bands of this Our County of *York*, and the Commissions, command, and power of all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Officers of Our Trained Bands, (which were derived from the Commission and power of the Lord Lieutenant onely) are now actually void, and of no force and authority; Our will and command therefore is, that you forthwith issue Warrants under your hand, to all the late Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Officers, who (whiles the Lord Lieutenants Commission was in force) had the command of the Trained Bands of this Our County, and also to all High and petty Constables, and other Our Officers in this Our County, whom it may concern, charging and commanding them, and every of them, in Our Name, and upon their allegiance, and as they tender the peace of this Our Kingdom, not to muster, levy, or raise, or to summon, or warn (upon any pretence or directions whatsoever) any of our Trained Bands to rise, muster, or march, without expresse warrant under Our hand, or warrant from you Our Sheriffe grounded upon a particular writ to that purpose; which We also command you, not to put in execution without Our privity and allowance, whiles we shall reside in this Our County. And in case any of Our Trained Bands shall rise, or gather together, contrary to this Our command, Then We will and command you to charge and require them, to dissolve and retire to their dwellings. And if upon due summons from you, they shall not lay down their arms, and depart to their dwelling; We will and com-

command you upon your allegiance, and as you tender the peace and quiet of this Our Kingdom, to raise the power of the County, and suppresse them by force, as the Law hath directed and given you power to do. And to the end that this Our expres command may be notified to all Our good Subjects in this Our County, so as none may pretend hereafter to have been mis-led through ignorance: We require you to cause these Our Letters to be forthwith read, and published openly in all Churches and Parishes in this Our County. Herein you may not fail, as you tender the safety and honour of Our person, the good and peace of this our Kingdom, and will answer the contrary at your perill. For which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at Our Court at York, *May* 5. *&c.*

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6. *To the Gentry of* Yorkshire, *May* 16. 1642. *From* York.

WEE have with great contentment considered your dutifull and affectionate Answer to Our proposition concerning the unsufferable affront which We received at *Hull*; We have not been deceived in that confidence We had in your affection, wherefore We desire you to assure the rest of your Countrymen, who through negligence, were omitted to be summoned: that We shall never abuse your love by any power wherewith God shall enable us to the least violation of the least of your liberties or the diminution of those immunities which we have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts

Acts of moſt (if not all) Our Predeceſſours; being reſolved with a conſtant and firm reſolution to have the Law of this Land duly obſerved, and ſhall endeavour onely ſo to preſerve Our juſt Royall Rights as may enable Vs to protect Our Kingdom and people, according to the ancient Honours of the Kings of *England*, and according to the truſt which by the Law of God and this Land is put into the Crown, being ſufficiently warned by the late affront at *Hull*, not to transfer the ſame out of our power; concerning which affront we will take ſome time to adviſe which way We may uſefully imploy your affections: In the mean time We ſhall take it well from all ſuch as ſhall perſonally attend Vs, ſo followed and provided as they ſhall think fit for the better ſafety of Our Perſon, becauſe we know not what ſudden violence, or affront may be offered unto us, having lately received ſuch an actuall teſtimony of rebellious intentions as Sir *John Hotham* hath expreſſed at *Hull*: being thus ſecured by your affections and aſſiſtance; We promiſe you Our protection againſt any contrary power whatſoever. And that you ſhall not be moleſted for your humble and modeſt petition, as of late you have been threatned.

Given at Our Court at York, May 16. 1642.

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7. *To the Privy Councell of* Scotland, *May* 20. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

RIght truſty and well-beloved Coſins and Counſellors, We greet you well. Although We have already written Our mind to you Our Councel; yet

upon Our second thoughts, arising especially from some bad rumours, coming to our knowledge, We finde it necessary both for Our self, and for the good of that Our Kingdom, to declare and make known both our disposition and desires more fully.

We know and feel the charge to be great, and the place to be high, wherein God (the King of Kings) hath placed Vs, and that we must render an account of all our actions to him, who in his own time shall judge all men without exception of persons. We have no other intentions, but by Our government, to honour Him by whom Kings reign, and to procure the good of Our People; and for this end to preserve the right and authority wherewith God hath vested Vs, and which by His Providence hath been derived to Vs, by many Princely Progenitors: in the which glory that Our ancient Kingdom, and native Realm of *Scotland* doth participate.

We did not require of you, that you should sit as Judges upon the affairs of another Kingdom; We onely intended to have both Our Sufferings and Our actions, (as they are exprest in many papers past betwixt Vs and Our Parliament) made throughly known to you; that since We have none besides you whom we can acquaint with Our proceedings, you may clearly see that We have been so far from wronging Our Parliament of *England*, that we have given them all satisfaction, even above that which they themselves in the beginning did expresse, or almost desire: And as much as could well consist with the safety of Our Person and honour. We will not put you in minde of your natural affection towards Vs, which We know will rather be kindled than extinguished by Our distresse; Nor of your Covenant, wherein you are zealous of Our Greatnesse and Authority, and which

which ſtandeth in that ſenſe wherein you did ſwear and ſubſcribe it; Nor of the many good Laws made in Our late Parliament (of which we hope the preſent and the ſucceeding generations ſhall reap the fruits, when We are dead and gone;) Nor of the many promiſes made unto Vs, upon which We were willing to yeeld to ſuch things for ſetling the government of that our Kingdom, in our perſonal abſence, which neither could We have granted, nor would you have craved, (as your ſelves did profeſſe) had Our greater affairs permitted Our reſidence amongſt you. And whereas we are moſt unjuſtly blamed and calumniated. 1. That We are popiſhly affected. 2. That we are the cauſe of the bloodſhed in *Ireland*. 3. That we intend to bring in Forraign Forces; We here do proteſt and declare in the preſence of him who knows the moſt ſecret of our intentions and actions, that we are no wayes conſcious to our Self of the guiltineſſe of any of the ſaid aſperſions: and do take Him to witneſſe our innocency therein, who only hath the priviledge to be the ſearcher of hearts: And if any after ſo full and plain profeſſion ſhall diſtruſt this our free Declaration, VVe atteſt God, that the fault is in the malignity of their rebellious humours, and no wayes deſerved on Our part.

Given at Our Court at York, *May* 20. 1642.

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8. *To the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham, *June* 4. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

RIght truſty and welbeloved, We greet you well; Whereas we underſtand, that you have begun

to assemble, train, and muster the Trained Bands of Our County of *Lincoln*, under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament, whereto we have not given Our consent; which is not onely contrary to Law, but to our command and pleasure, signified by our Proclamation sent to the High Sheriffe of that our County: Wherefore, that you may not hereafter plead ignorance of such our Prohibition; we do by these our Letters, command and charge you, upon your allegiance, to desist and forbeare to raise, muster, train, exercise, or assemble together any part of the Trained Bands of our County, either by your self, or by any others imployed under you, or by warrant from you. And because you may for what you have already done, concerning the *Militia* of that our County, plead that you had not so particular a Command, We shall passe by what you have already done therein, so as presently upon the receipt hereof, you shall desist and give over medling any further with any thing belonging to the *Militia* of that our County; but if you shall not presently desist, and forbear medling therewith, We are resolved to call you to a strict account for your disobedience therein, after so many particular and legall commands given you upon your Allegiance to the contrary, and shall esteem and proceed against you as a disturber of the peace of Our Kingdom.

Given at our Court at York, *Iune* 4. 1642.

To Our right Trusty and well beloved the Lord Willoughby *of* Parham.

9. *To the Commiſſioners of Array in* Leiceſterſhire, *June* 12. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

RIght truſty and right well beloved Couſins, and right truſty and well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas it hath been declared by the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament the fifteenth of *March* laſt, that the Kingdom hath of late, and ſtill is, in ſo evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a Popiſh diſcontented party at home; that there is an urgent and inevitable neceſſity of putting our Subjects to a poſture of defence, for the ſafeguard both of Our Perſon and People: and that ſithence divers Inhabitants of divers Counties have addreſſed their Petitions to that purpoſe: And whereas a ſmall number of both Houſes (after it had been rejected by the Lords in a full Houſe, and without Our Royall Aſſent or opinion of the Judges concerning the legality hereof) have attempted by way of Ordinance to put in execution the power of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, and to diſpoſſeſſe many of Our ancient Nobility of the command and truſt repoſed in them by Us, and have nominated divers others, who have no intereſt in, nor live near to ſome of the Counties, to which they are nominated for the Lieutenancy, whereby they cannot be properly ſerviceable to the Counties wherewith they are intruſted, nor Our people receive that content and ſecurity which We deſire they ſhould; To ſubmit to the execution of which power by the way of ordinance, without it were reduced into a Law by Act of Parliament, eſtabliſhed by our Royall aſſent, were to introduce and expoſe our ſubjects to a meer Arbitrary Government, which by Gods grace We ſhall never permit:

We

We therefore considering, that by the Laws of the Realm it belongeth solely to Us, to order and govern the *Militia* of the Kingdom, have thereupon by our Proclamation of the 27 of *May* last, prohibited all maner of Persons whatsoever upon their Allegiance, to Muster, Levy, or Summon, upon any Warrant, Order or Ordinance, from one or both Houses of Parliament, whereunto we have not, or shall not give our express consent, any of the Trained Bands, or other Officers, without express Warrant under our hands, or Warrant from our Sheriff of the County, grounded on a particular Writ to that purpose, under our Great Seal. And considering, that in ancient time the *Militia* of the Kingdom was ever disposed of by Commissions of Array, & that by a particular Stat. upon Record in the Tower, made in the fifth year of *Henry* the 4th, by full consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons and Commons, and at their sute, and by the advice and opinion of the Judges then had, such Commissions were mitigated, in respect of some clauses perillous to the Commissioners, and approved of for the time to come: And that by the subsequent Records it appeareth, that all our Royal Predecessors have continually exercised that power by such Commissions, till of late time they have been discontinued by the grants of particular Commissions of Lieutenancy; little differing in substance from the said Commissions of Array, against which it seems the Houses have taken some exception. And though we are no way satisfied of the illegality of them, our Councel being never heard in the defence thereof, yet being willing to avoid all exception at present, we have thought fit to refer it, to that ancient legal way of disposing the power of the *Militia*, by such Commissions

missions of Array, for defence of us, our Kingdom, and our Countrey: Authorizing you, or any three or more of you, to Array and Train our people, and to apportion and assess such persons as have estates; and are not able to bear Arms, to finde Arms for other men, in a reasonable and moderate proportion; and to conduct them so array'd, as well to the Coasts as other places, for the opposition and destruction of our enemies, in case of danger, as to your discretions, or any three or more of you shall seem meet. Whereof you *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, and in your absence *William* Earl of *Devon*, or *Henry Hastings* Esq; to be one: and being both confident in a great measure of the loyal affections of our people, and very tender to bring any unnecessary burthen or charge on them, by augmenting the number of the Trained Bands: We do for the present onely require, that you forthwith cause to be Mustered and Trained, all the ancient Trained Bands and Free-hold Bands of the County, carefully seeing, that they be supplyed with able and sufficient persons, and compleatly armed; unless you finde that there be just cause, and that it shall be with the good liking of the Inhabitants, for their own better security, to make any increase of their numbers; and over such Bands, to appoint and set such Colonels, Captains, and Officers, as you shall think most fit for the discharge of that service, being such persons as have considerable Interest in the County, and not strangers. And in case of any opposition, you are to raise the power of the County to suppress it, and to commit all such persons as shall be found rebellious herein, into the custody of our Sheriff; whose care and assistance we especially require. And that we shall from time to time issue

forth

forth ſuch Warrants for the aſſembling of our people, at ſuch times and places as by you ſhall be agreed on, according to the truſt repoſed in him by our ſaid Commiſſion. And we have authorized you our Commiſſioners, or any three of you, after ſuch Array made, from time to time, to Train and take Muſters of our ſaid Bands; and to provide Beacons, and other neceſſaries, for the better exerciſing of our people, and diſcovery of ſudden invaſions & commotions: Of all which your proceedings herein, we expect a ſpeedy and plenary account, according to the truſt repoſed in you, and authority given you by our Commiſſion on that behalf.

Given at our Court at York, *the twelfth day of* June, *in the* 18 *year of our reign*, 1642.

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10. *To the Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of* London, *June* 14. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas we have received ſeveral informations of great ſums of money endeavored to be borrowed of our City of *London*, by ſome direction proceeding from both our Houſes of Parliament, and likewiſe that great labor is uſed to perſwade our Subjects to raiſe Horſe, and to furniſh money, upon pretence of providing a Guard for our Parliament; Theſe are to let you know, that (notwithſtanding) any ſcandalous Votes which have preſumed to declare our intention of levying War againſt our Parliament, and to lay other aſperſions on us, ſo fully diſ-

disavowed by us in the presence of Almighty God, (by our several Answers and Declarations) all our desires and purposes are for the publick Peace, and that we have not the least thought of raising or using force, except we are compelled to it for the defence of our person, and in protection of the Law: And therefore we expect, that you suffer not your selves to be mis-led by such vain and improbable suggestions, and do declare, That if you shall lend any sums of money towards the relief of *Ireland* (to which we have contributed all the assistance could be desired of us, which way soever the money given and raised to that purpose is disposed) or towards the payment of our Scots Subjects, we shall take it as an acceptable Service at your hands; but if upon general pretences contrived by a few factious persons against the Peace of the Kingdom, you shall give or lend any Money, or provide or raise any Horses or Arms, towards the raising such a guard, We shall look upon it as the raising force against Us, and to be done in malice and contempt of Us and Our Authority. And we do therefore straitly charge and command you to publish this Our Letter to the several Masters and Wardens of the several Companies, that they may be assured, that such Money as they shall lend out of their good affection to the Kingdom, may be onely imployed for *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and not towards such guards, which (in truth) are intended by the contrivers of that design (though we believe many honest men seduced by them do not yet see their end) to be imployed against us: and if you & they shal herein fail punctually and severally to observe our commands, We shall not onely proceed against the several Companies for deceiving the trust reposed

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in them; but against the particular persons, as contemners and opposers of Our Authority, and of the Law of the Land, in the most exemplary way the known Law of the Land shall prescribe to Vs; and shall be compelled to question the Charter of your City, which we are willing yet to believe (notwithstanding the barbarous and insolent demeanour of the meaner and baser sort) in a good degree to continue loyall to us. And of your obedienee to these Our commands We do expect and require a full account, and of the names of such persons who shal oppose the same. Hereof fail you not as you will answer the contrary at your peril.

Given at Our Court at York *the* 14 *day of June, &c.*

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11. *To the Judges, to be published in their Circuits, July* 4. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. We call to mind that in former times the constant custome was by the mouth of the Lord Keeper for the time being, at the Court of Star Chamber, in the end of Trinity Term, to put the Judges of Assize (shortly after to undertake their severall Circuits) in mind of such things as were then thought necessary for the present, for the good government of the Kingdom. This course in our judgement We do well approve of, That although we want the opportunity, which we and our Predecessours then had, of communicating our thoughts to our Judges, for the good of our people, yet we do still retain the same care for the safety and

and prosperity of our good Subjects: And much more, by how much the distempers and distractions of the present times, unhappily fallen, have given us more occasion. We have therefore thought it fit, to supply the defect by these Our Letters; wherein besides the generall care of our Justice, committed to us by God, and by us delegated to our Judges by our severall Commissions, We recommend unto you in your Circuits, as We shall do to the rest of your brethren in their severall Circuits, these particulars following.

First, That you take care, by all the best means you can, to suppresse Popery in all those Counties whither you are to go, by putting the Laws made against them in due execution: and that you take like care to give a stop to the over-hasty growth of Anabaptisme, and other Schisms, as far as by the good Lawes of the Land you may; and to punish the Delinquents with an equall hand, and those especially of either sort whom you shall discover to be seditious stirrers and movers of others to any acts of disobedience to Us, and Our government; and that in charge and otherwise, as you shall have fit opportunity, you assure our good Subjects in our Name, and in the word of a King, who calls God to witness, that by his gracious assistance We are constantly resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, established by Law in this Church of *England*, in the purity thereof, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, as we found it at our accesse to the Crown, and as it was maintained in the happy times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Iames* Our dear Father, both of happy memory, and therein both to live and dye.

Secondly, you shall let our People of those Counties know, That according to our Kingly Duty and

Oath

Oath, We are also constantly resolved to maintain the Lawes of this Our Kingdom; and by and according to them to govern Our Subjects, and not by any Arbitrary power, whatsover the Malevolent spirits of any ill-affected to Our person and government, have suggested, or shall suggest to the contrary. And that We shall also maintain the just priviledges of Parliament, as far as ever Our Predecessors have done, and as far as may stand with that justice which We owe to Our Crown, and the honour thereof: But that We may not, nor will admit of any such unwarranted power, in either or both Houses of Parliament, which in some things hath been lately usurped, not onely without, but against Our Royall Consent and Command. And we require and command you, as there shall be just occasion offered, in a legall way, that you take care to preserve Our just Right in these cases.

Thirdly, We charge you, as you tender the peace of this Kingdom, in the Government whereof, according to the Laws you Our Judges of the Law have a principall part under us, that you take care for suppressing of all Insurrections, if any such should happen, and of all Riots and unlawfull Assemblies under any pretence whatsoever, not warranted by the Laws of this Land; and whosoever shall transgresse therein, that you let them know that they must expect that punishment which by the Law may be inflicted upon them, and at your hands We shall look for such an account herein, within your Circuit, as becommeth the quality of the place wherein you serve us.

Fourthly, because the distempers of the present times unhappily stirred up and fomented by some, under specious, but unjust pretences, and probable

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to ſtir up looſe and ungoverned people, under hope or impunity as far as they dare to make a prey of our good Subjects, we ſtraitly charge and command you to take the beſt order youcan in thoſe Counties, that Rogues, Vagabonds, and other diſorderly people may be apprehended, dealt with and puniſhed according to the Laws, whereby the good and quiet people of our Kingdom may be ſecured, and the wicked and licentious may be ſuppreſſed: and we charge and command you to give it in charge in all the Counties whither you are ſent by our Commiſſions, that watches and wards be ſtraitly kept in all Pariſhes and places convenient, whereby the Lawes made againſt ſuch diſorders may be put in due execution.

Fifthly, and laſtly, you ſhall let our People of thoſe Counties know from Vs, and by our command, that if they ſhall profeſſe unto Vs, or unto you in our ſtead, any thing wherein they hold themſelves grieved, in an humble and fitting way, and ſhall deſire a juſt Reformation or Reliefe, We ſhall give a gracious ear unto them, and with all convenience return them ſuch an anſwer, as ſhall give them cauſe to thank Vs for our Juſtice and favour: And when you ſhall have publiſhed our clear intentions to our People in theſe things, leſt at the firſt hearing they ſhould not ſo fully apprehend our ſenſe therein, you ſhall deliver a copy of theſe our Letters to the Fore-man of the Grand-Jury, and to any other, if any one ſhall deſire copies of theſe Our Letters for their better information: And to the end that Our Services in your Circuit may not ſuffer through the abſence of our Learned Councel, our will and command is, that you aſſigne in every place of your Seſſions ſome of the ableſt Lawyers who ride that Circuit to be of Councell for Us, to aſſiſt in ſuch Pleas of the Crown, that may be moſt ne-

ceſſary for our ſervice in the execution and puniſhment of notorious Delinquents.

Of all theſe things We ſhall expect that good account from you, as we ſhall from the reſt of your brethren our Judges, to whom we have alſo written to the like purpoſe, of whoſe fidelity and good affections We are Confident as becometh *Vs* to look for from you, and for you to render to us, wherein you have ſo great a truſt committed.

Given at Our Court at York, *July* 4. 1642.

To Our truſty and well beloved, the Judge or Iudges of Aſſize for our Counties of Kent, Surrey, Suſſex, Hertford, *and* Eſſex.

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12. *To the* Vice-Chancellour *of* Oxford, *July* 18. 1642.

From Beverly.

Reverend Father in God, We greet you well,

WHereas We have received a moſt large and ample teſtimony of the affection of that our loyall Vniverſity to us, by the free loan of a very conſiderable Sum of Money, in the time of ſo great and imminent neceſſity. Theſe are to will and require you, to give to that our Vniverſity from Vs, our Royall thanks, and to aſſure them, and every of them, (our loving and loyall Subjects) that this teſtimony of their hearts towards us, ſhall never depart out of *Our* royall memory, and that both they ſhall be carefully repaid, and the money imployed onely upon

upon the defence of Our Self, and the true Protestant Religion, and the Lawes established in this *Our* Kingdom: and whereas We hear, that for this action so full of Loyalty and Allegiance, some of that *Our* Vniversity have been *Ordered* to be sent for; these are to will and require you, to signifie unto them and every of them (who assume such power to themselves without Vs) that We will and command, that no obedience be given to any such summons, holding *Our* Self bound to protect and defend those, who shall be persecuted for that cause, by having contributed to *Our* defence and protection. And so We bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Beverly, *July* 18. 1642.

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13. *To the Mayor of* Oxford, *July* 22. 1642. *From* Nottingham.

C. R.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have lately received very ample testimonies of the good affections of *Our* Vniversity of *Oxon*, by the loan of such Monies as could be thence spared for the supply of our urgent and extraordinary occasions, for which dutifull and affectionate expression, We are informed that several worthy persons of that *Our* Vniversity, *Our* servants and others, are threatned to be troubled and molested, VVe have thought fit to commend the care, assistance, and protection of that place, and of the persons in it, to you as a service, wherein you shall merit *Our* Favour and Good Acceptance, and of which VVe shall require an Account.

And We do therefore will and require you, as you tender our displeasure, if any Warrant, order, or other direction whatsoever shall come to your hand for the apprehending or troubling any person or persons of that our Vniversity for his good affection to our service in advancing the business of lending and supplying Vs with money, which we shall never forget that you be so far from countenancing or assisting any such warrant or direction, that on the contrary you use your utmost power to preserve those our good Subjects from such oppression, the which we shall take in very good part at your hand, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Nottingham, *July* 22. 1642.

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14. *To the Sheriffs of* London, *January* 17. 1642. *From* Oxford.

C. R.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. We received lately a Petition from the Aldermen and Common-councel of our City of *London*, by the hands of persons intrusted by them for the delivery, who found such a reception from Vs, as well manifested our regard to that body which sent them; Though We well knew by whom that Petition was framed, and where perused and examined, before it was approved by those, from whom it seemed to be sent, yet we were so willing to enter into a correspondence with that our City, and to receive any address and application from them, according to that invitation

on we had given by our late Proclamation; and were so glad to finde that there was yet some hopes they would look to the peace and happinesse of that City, and at last sever themselves from any Faction or dependence which might insensibly involve them in those calamities they did not foresee, that We returned such a gracious Answer thereunto, so full of candor and affection, that the meanest inhabitant of that our City, if he carefully consider the same, will finde himself concerned in it, and that we have had an especiall care of his particular. With this Answer of ours we sent a Servant of Our own, in the company of those who had been so well used here, to require and see that it might be communicated to the whole body of that our City; not doubting but that both it and the bringer should receive such entertainment there, as might manifest their due regard of us, and of Our Affection to them; But to Our great wonder, We finde that after ten dayes attendance, and suffering ridiculous Pamphlets to be published in our Name, as if We retracted our former resolutions, (which Pamphlets We have caused to be burned by the hand of the Hangman, as We also require you to see done) instead of that admission We expected to our Messenger and Message, Guards of armed men have been brought to keep Our good Subjects, to whom that our Answer was directed, from being present at the reading thereof; and Speeches have been made by Strangers (who have been admitted to the City Councells, contrary to the Freedom and Custome of these meetings,) to blast our said Answer, and to dishonour and slander *Vs*, which if Our good Subjects there shall suffer, We shall be much discouraged in *Our* desired correspondence with that *Our* Citie, and so

by the cunning and power of those Incendiaries mentioned in Our Answer (Alderman *Pennington*) who to shew his great loyalty to Vs, and his fitnesse to be the chief Magistrate of such a City, being informed that a desperate person there said, *That he hoped shortly to wash his hands in Our bloud*, refused to send any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer for his apprehension (*Ven, Fulke*, and *Manwaring*) who have plunged that Our City into such unspeakable calamities, in which they would still keep it to cure their own desperate condition, Our good Subjects there are not suffered to receive Our gracious Answer to that Petition: We have therefore thought fit to write these Our Letters to you, requiring you the Sheriffs of Our said City to take care for the publishing, that Our Answer (which We herewith send you) to Our good Subjects of that Our City: And Our pleasure is, That you the Masters and Wardens of the severall Companies of Our said City, forthwith summon all the Members of your several Companies, with all the Freemen and Apprentices (whose hopes and interests are so much blasted in those generall distractions) belonging thereunto, to appear at your severall Halls, where you shall cause Our said Answer, together with these our Letters, to be publickly read, that all Our good Subjects may clearly understand how farre We have been from begetting, how farre We are from continuing or nourishing these unnaturall civil dissentions, and how it is in their own power to remove the present pressures, and to establish the future happinesse and glory of that famous City, and most seriously weigh every part of that our Answer, as well that which carries caution in it for the future, as pardon for what is past; for assure your selves for the time to come, We

shall

ſhall proceed with all ſeverity againſt ſuch who ſhall incur the penalty of the Law in thoſe points, of which We have given them ſo fair a warning in Our ſaid Anſwer, and whoſoever ſhall not behave himſelf like a good Subject in this Our Kingdom, ſhall not, (if We can help it) receive the benefit and advantage of being Our Subject in any other; but all Forraign Princes ſhall know, that as ſuch perſon hath parted with his loyalty to Vs, ſo he muſt not hope for any ſecurity by Vs, and to that purpoſe We ſhall henceforward have a very inquiſitive eye upon the Actions of all Our Subjects, that ſome example may be made, how eaſy it is for us to puniſh their diſloyalties abroad, who for a time may avoid Our juſtice at home. And to the end that none of Our good Subjects of that our City may think themſelves bound to obey any of the Orders or commands of the pretended Lord Mayor (whom We have, and do ſtill accuſe of high Treaſon, and conſpiring to take Our Life from us) It is well known unto thoſe Citizens who underſtand the Charter of that City (ſo amply granted by Our Royall Progenitors, and ſo graciouſly confirmed by Vs, and of which We preſume our good Subjects there do ſtill deſire to receive the benefit,) that the ſaid *Iſaac Pennington* was never regularly elected, or lawfully admited to be Lord Mayor of that Our City, that in truth Alderman *Cordwell*, was by the plurality of voices choſen, and that this man was never preſented to, or admitted by Vs, in ſuch manner as is preſcribed by their ſaid Charter, neither had that Judge, who preſumed to ſweare him, any more colour of Law or Authority to Adminiſter ſuch an Oath to him, then he hath to do the ſame to morrow to any

other Alderman of the City: And We do therefore hereby declare the said *Isaac Penington* not to be Maior of that Our City of *London*, and to have no lawfull authority to exercise the same, and that Our good Subjects of that Our City, ought not to submit to any Orders, directions, or commands which shall issue from him as Lord Maior of that Our City, but that the same are void and of none effect. And We do once more require you the Sheriffs of Our said City, and all other the Magistrates of the same, in which all Our good Subjects of that City will assist you, that you cause the said *Isaac Penington*, *Ven*, *Fulk*, and *Manwaring*. to be apprehended and committed to safe custody, that We may proceed against them as guilty of high Treason, and principall Authors of those calamities which are now so heavy upon Our poor Subjects of that City, and if not suddenly remedied will in a short time utterly confound a place, and a people lately of so flourishing an estimation in all parts of Christendom. And whereas We are informed that one *Brown* a Woodmonger, *Tichburne* a Linen-Draper, and one *Harvey* a Silkman have exercised great insolencies and outrages in that Our City, and when many of Our good Subjects there, have assembled together in a peaceable and modest manner, to consult about the peace and welfare of that City, the said mutinous and seditious persons have presumed to lead multitudes of armed men against them, and by such force have beaten, wounded, and killed Our good Subiects, Our will and pleasure is, That if the said *Brown*, *Tichburn*, and *Harvey*, or either of them, shall so far neglect Our gracious offer of pardon, as still to engage themselves in those unwarrantable and seditious courses, That you Our Sheriffs of *London*, raise

power to

to ſuppreſſe the ſaid force, and that you and all Our Miniſters of juſtſtice, uſe your utmoſt means to apprehend the ſaid perſons, and to bring them to condign puniſhment. And We do hereby declare, That it ſhall be lawfull for any of Our loving Subjects, to reſiſt and oppoſe the ſaid perſons, if they ſhall hereafter in ſuch a war-like manner, endeavour to moleſt them, as they would do Rebels and Traytors. And We hope that all Our good Subjects of that Our much injured City of *London*, do take notice of Our grace and favour towards them, in Our ſo freely paſſing by and pardoning the offences there committed againſt us, as We have offered by Our Proclamation and Our late Anſwer; and of Our very earneſt deſire to be with them, and to reſide amongſt them for their comfort, ſupport, and protection, if they ſhall, by firſt providing for their own ſecurity (in ſuch manner as We have directed them in Our late Anſwer) give us an inſtance that We may be ſafe there too: and that they do likewiſe obſerve, that being by ſuch violence kept from them, We have done Our utmoſt endeavour to continue and advance the decayed trading of that our City, by permitting and encouraging all reſort and traffique thither, and therefore if by the ſtopping of carriages, and ſeizing commodities by other men, the commerce and correſpondence be broken between that place and our good Subjects of other Counties, they will impute that miſchief to the true authors of it, and look upon Vs onely as not able to help them. Do but your duties, and this cloud which threatens a preſent confuſion will quickly vaniſh away, and you will enjoy all the bleſſings of a happy Nation, to the which no endeavour of ours ſhall be wanting.

15. *To*

15. *To The Sheriff and Juſtices of Glouceſter-ſhire,* Feb. 12. 1642. *From* Oxford.

TRuſty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas there hath been lately an Inſurrection and Rebellion againſt us in our County of *Gloceſter*, which hath ſo generally poſſeſſed the ſpirits of that County (though we do acknowledge many Gentlemen of the beſt quality there, have with courage retained their loyalty to us, and have ſuffered with us, which we ſhall always and particularly remember) that there hath been a greater concurrence there in this deſperate Rebellion, then in any County of *England*, inſomuch that we have been compelled to ſend a conſiderable part of our Army thither, the which it pleaſed God to bleſs with ſuch ſucceſs, that we hope for the future we ſhall be able, by the concurrence and aſſiſtance of you, and the reſt of our good Subjects of that good County, to preſerve you from the like Invaſions. And to ſhew you how far we are from the juſt ſenſe and indignation we might well entertain againſt thoſe, who have ſo wilfully fallen from their Allegiance, or concurred with the diſloyalty of others, by not applying themſelves to a timely prevention, we have ſent our gracious Proclamation to inhibit our Soldiers from plundring, or uſing any violence to any of our Subjects of that County, of what condition ſoever, and to ſecure them in the freedom of our Markets, that their Trade and Commerce may be renewed and continued.

Yet we muſt declare unto you, That we expect ſome reparation, and an exemplary teſtimony of their

their converſion and affection, who neglecting our former Proclamations of Grace and Pardon, continued ſtill to foment this unnatural bloody diſſention, though we ſhall not proceed with ſtrictneſs and ſeverity againſt them: And it will not ſeem juſt, that the charge and burthen brought upon the Countrey, by the malice and connivence of ſuch men, ſhould be equally born by thoſe who have faithfully adhered in their loyalty and affection to us, which is the caſe of the monethly Contribution agreed upon, in which all perſons of ability are equally engaged, how different ſoever their demeanor hath been; And therefore our pleaſure is, That you, or any three of you (whereof we appoint you our High Sheriff to be one) call and ſummon together the Gentlemen, Clergy, and ſubſtantial Freeholders and Inhabitants of that our County, to appear before you at ſuch times and places as you ſhall think moſt convenient, and move them in our name freely to aſſiſt and contribute unto us according to their ſeveral abilities in theſe our urgent and important occaſions, for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion, in which they have been bred, for the defence of the Laws and Liberties, to which they were born, and for the ſafety of our perſon, to which they have ſo often ſworn; and as we believe all well-affected perſons will be willing and ready upon this occaſion to expreſs their duty to us, ſo we doubt not ſuch, who have by weakneſs and miſunderſtanding, or through fear and apprehenſion of danger been ſo far tranſported, as to contribute or conſent to theſe horrid diſſentions, will by their free and liberal aſſiſtance of Us, expreſs, That their former errors proceeded from weakneſs, not from malice.

And

And our pleasure is, and we do hereby authorize you our High Sheriff, to receive all such sums of Money as shall be contributed unto us, and with the advice of the Justices of the Peace, who shall assist you in this service, to return the names of all such who shall express their affections to us this way, as likewise of those whose stubbornness and perverseness may, in your opinion, have an ill influence upon the Peace and quiet of the County.

And you shall further require all the Trained Bands of that our County, to send in their arms they have been charged with, to our Magazine at *Cyrencester*; within ten days after the date of this our Letter, at their utmost peril: and if any men shall excuse themselves, by saying, that their Arms are already delivered in at *Glocester* or *Cyrencester*, or any other place, and therefore that they cannot obey us herein, you shall let them know, that we will not consent that their readiness to obey those commands which tended to the disturbance of the Peace of that our County, shall be any excuse for their not obeying ours, which are for their necessary defence and safety, and therefore we shall expect that every person, within that our County, who is charged with Arms, or hath found Arms by vertue of the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia*, shall within the time prefixed, deliver the Arms with which he is charged; and such who executed the *Militia*, all their Arms into our said Magazine, except such persons who shall sufficiently make proof before you, That their Arms were by force and violence taken from them by the said Rebels, and of this you shall give us a particular account; that We well knowing the number of Arms that our County stands charged with, and with

with which private persons have lately furnished themselves, may judge of their affections by their obedience to these our commands.

Lastly, because the City of *Glocester*, notwithstanding our gracious Proclamation and offer of Pardon, doth yet refuse to yield that submission and obedience which is due to us, whereby we may be compelled to visit those parts with our Army, which might else be free from those inconveniencies: We straitly will and command all our loving Subjects of that our County, to forbear, and not to entertain any commerce or traffick with our said City of *Glocester*, neither by buying or selling, or any other offices of Neighborhood, till the same shall return to its loyalty and subjection; which if it shall do, we shall receive it into our protection, and defend it from any assaults or violence.

And you shall cause these our Letters to be publickly read in all the Churches and Chappels of that Our County, that all Our Subjects may know the Contents thereof, and conform themselves accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, *Febr.* 12. 1642.

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16. *To the Privy Councel of* Scotland, *Decemb.* 6. 1642. *From* Oxford.

RIght trusty and right well beloved Cosins and Counsellors, and right trusty and well beloved Counsellors, We greet you well. We have lately seen a Paper presented to us by the Earl of *Lynsey*, as

as a Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, of the 7 of *November*, to our Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which after many high Taxes of us and our Government, very earnestly invites, and in a manner challenges assistance, from that our Native Kingdom, of men and arms, for making a War against us, making a claim to that assistance, by vertue of the late Act of Pacification, to the which (out of our desire to make a perpetual union between our two Kingdoms, for the happiness of both, and by it the more firmly to establish our own greatness and just power) we cheerfully consented.

As we are at our soul afflicted, that it hath been in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malitious persons, so far to possess the hearts of many of our Subjects of *England*, as to raise this miserable distemper and distraction in this Kingdom, against all our real actions and endeavors to the contrary; so we are glad that this rage and fury hath so far transported them, that they apply themselves in so gross a maner to our Subjects of *Scotland*, whose experience of our Religion, Justice, and Love of our people, will not suffer them to believe those horrid scandals laid upon us; and their affection, loyalty, and jealousie of our honor, will disdain to be made instruments to oppress their Native Soveraign, by assisting an odious Rebellion.

We have from time to time acquainted our Subjects of that Kingdom, with the accidents and circumstances which have disquieted this: how (after all the Acts of Justice, Grace, and Favor, performed on our part, which were, or could be desired to make a people compleatly happy,) We were driven by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous assem-

aſſemblies, from Our City of *London*, and our two Houſes of Parliament; How attempts have been made to impoſe Lawes upon Our Subjects without Our conſent, contrary to the foundation, and conſtitution of this Kingdom; How Our Forts, Goods, and Navy were ſeized and taken from us by force, and imployed againſt us; Our Revenue and ordinary ſubſiſtance wreſted from us; How We have been purſued with ſcandalous and reproachfull language; bold, falſe, and ſeditious Paſquils, and Libels publickly allowed againſt us; and been told that We might, without want of modeſty and duty, be Depoſed. Now after all this (before any force raiſed by us) an Army was raiſed, and a Generall appointed to lead that Army againſt us, with a Commiſſion to kill, ſlay, and deſtroy all ſuch who ſhould be faithfull to us. That when We had been by theſe means compelled with the aſſiſtance of our good Subjects to raiſe an Army for Our neceſſary defence, we ſent divers gracious Meſſages, earneſtly deſiring that the calamities and miſeries of a civill War might be prevented by a Treaty, and ſo We might know the grounds of this miſunderſtanding. How we were abſolutely refuſed to be treated with; and how at laſt the Army (raiſed, as was pretended, for the defence of our perſon) was brought into the field againſt us, gave us battell, and (though it pleaſed God to give us the victory) deſtroyed many of our good Subjects, with as eminent danger to our own perſon and our Children, as the skill and malice of deſperate Rebels could contrive: of all which and the other indignities which have been offered us, We doubt not the duty and affection of our Scotiſh Subjects will have ſo juſt a reſentment, that they will expreſſe to the World the ſenſe they have of Our ſufferings.

And

And our good Subjects of *Scotland* are not, we hope, so great Strangers to the affairs of this Kingdom, to believe that this mis-fortune and distraction is begot and brought upon us by our two Houses of Parliament: (though in truth no unwarrantable action against the Law can be justified even by that authority.) They will know how the Members of both Houses have been driven thence, insomuch, that of above five hundred Members of the House of Commons, there are not now there above eighty, and of above One hundred of the House of Peers, not above fifteen or sixteen. All which are so awed by the multitude of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other persons, desperate and decayed in their Fortunes, in and about the City of *London*, that in truth their consultations have not the freedom and priviledge which belong to *P*arliaments.

Concerning any Commissions granted by us to Papists to raise Forces, we must refer our good Subjects to a Declaration lately set forth by us upon the occasion of that Scandal, which we send together with this; and for our own true and zealous affection to the Protestant Religion (the advancement whereof our Soul desires) we can give no other instances, then our constant practice, on which malice it self can lay no blemish, and those many protestations we have made in the sight of Almighty God, to whom we know we shall be dearly accountable, if we fail in the observation.

For that scandalous imputation of our intention of bringing in Forraign Forces, as the same is raised without the least colour or shadow of reason, and solemnly disavowed by us in many of our Declarations; so there cannot be a clearer argument to our Subjects of *Scotland*, that we have no such thought, then

than that We have hitherto forbonrne to requíre the assistance of that Our Native Kingdom, from whose obedience, duty, and affection We should confidently expect it, if We thought Our own strength here too weak to preserve us; and of whose courage and loyalty We shall look to make use, before We shall think of any Forraign aid to succour us. And we know no reasonable or understanding man can suppose Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are obliged, or enabled by the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, to obey the invitation which is made to them by this pretended Declaration; when it is so evidently provided for by that act, that as the Kingdom of *England*, shall not make war against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without the consent of the Parliament of *England*, so the Kingdom of *Scotland*, shall not make war against the Kingdom of *England*, without the consent of the Parliament of *Scotland*: and when they have alwaies declared themselvas so carefull of Our Honor, Safety, and just Rights, which now undergo so great violation.

This we have thought fit to say upon occasion of this late Declaration, and do commend it to you the Lords of our Privy Councell of our Kingdome of *Scotland*, to be communicated and published to all our loving Subjects there; and if the grave Counsell and advice, which you derived hither by your Act of the 22. of Aprill last, had been followed here, in a tender care of our Royall person, and our Princely greatnesse and authority, then would not this face of Confusion have appeared, which now threatens this Kingdome: And therefore We require you to use your utmost indeavours to enforme Our Subjects of that Our Kingdome, of the truth of Our condition, and that you suffer not the Scandals and imputa-

tations laid on us, by the malice and treason of some men, to make any impression in the minds of Our people, to the lessening or corrupting their affections and loyalty to us; but that you assure them the hardnesse we now undergo, and the Arms we have been compelled to take up, are for the defence of Our person, and safety of Our life, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, for the preservation of the Lawes, Liberties, and constitution of this Kingdom, and for the just priviledges of Parliament: And we look no longer for the blessing of Heaven, than wee endeavour the defence and advancement of all these: And we doubt not a dutiful concurrence in Our Subjects of *Scotland*, in the care of Our Honour and just Rights, will draw down a blessing on that Nation too.

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17. *To the Privy Councell of* Scotland, *Sept.* 18. 1642. *From* Stratford.

C. R.

RIght trusty and well beloved Cousins and Councellours, right trusty, and trusty and well beloved Councellours, and trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed that upon Petition of the Commissioners from Our late generall Assembly, Our Councel thought fit that you should meet, for discharge of that trust impos'd on you by us and Our Parliament, whereby all fair means may be used to prevent such troubles and divisions as may interrupt or endanger the common peace of Our Kingdoms: and as it ought to be the continuall study and care, of all good and pious Princes to preserve their people; so certainly it is the duty of all loyall and

and faithfull Subjects to maintain the greatnesse and just authority of their Princes; so that without this reciprocall indeavour, there can be no happinesse for the Prince, nor security for the people. We are confident Our late actions in *Scotland*, will to all posterity be an acceptable witnesse of Our care in preserving the Liberty of these our Subjects, and Our desire to settle a perfect peace in that our Kingdom: And we are as confident, that the many good Acts we have past here since the down-sitting of this Parliament (indeed denying none but such as denied us any power at all, and were never so much as demanded from any of Our predecessors) will bear the like testimony of Our affections to the good and peace of this Kingdome, though the successe hath not bin alike. For though we have used Our best endeavours to prevent the present distractions and threatning dangers, yet so prevalent have been the opposers of us, and the peace of our Kingdoms, as not so much as a Treaty can be obtained (though by Our severall Messages We have descended to demand and presse it) unlesse upon such conditions as would, either by taking all power of Government from us, make us as no King, or by forcing us to quit the protection of such, as (for obeying us according to Law and their Oath of Allegiance) they would have Traitors, and so make us do an act unworthy of a King: Yet so desirous we are to save Our Subjects blood, (which cannot but be prodigally spent, if we be necessitated by force of arms to decide their unhappy differences) that no sooner any such Treaty shall be offered unto us by them (which with Honour and safety we can receive) but we shall cheerfully embrace it. This we have thought fit to acquaint you withall, that from Our selves you may

know Our love to peace: and we doubt not but your meeting at this time will produce something which will witnesse your Tender respect to our honour and safety. And so much do we confide in your affections, as we shall absolutely leave the ways and means of expressing it to your selves. So we bid you heartily farewel.

From Our Court at Stafford, *Sept.* 18. 1642.

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18. *To the Privy Councell of* Scotland, *Octob.* 13. 1642. *From* Bridgenorth.

C. R.

RIght trusty and well beloved Cousins, and Councellours, right trusty, and trusty and well beloved Councellours, and trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. By your letter of the 29 of September, we conceive how sensible you are of the present distractions of this Kingdom, which cannot be a greater grief to any than to Our Self. But seeing all the means we could possibly use for the removall thereof are (by the practises of such as Study division) prevented, and all Our offers of Treating (in a fair way to settle these distempers) slighted and not regarded; We are for the defence of true Religion, and the maintainance of the Liberties of the Subject, the privileges of Parliament, and Our just, and ever till now unquestioned Authority necessitated to put Our selves in the posture we are now in, and we shall no further beg a blessing from God on Our proceedings, than we intend the preservation of these.

As for your resolution of sending here some of your number; We see no reason why they should apprehend any danger in their repair to us; for they

may

may be confident to have a safe and free accesse to Our person, which we have never denyed to any of Our good Subjects who repaired to us in a dutifull manner, and were not out of Our protection. Therefore we conceive the granting of a safe conduct to any such, absolutely non-necessary. But if they apprehend any danger from the present disorders of this Kingdom, and Armies now on foot, we will grant such a passe both for their coming and return, as we ordinarily give to any of Our Subjects or servants for passing through Our Garrisons, Towns, or Armies: which we doubt not will both secure them, and satisfie you. So we bid you heartily farewel. *From Our Court at* Bridgenorth *the* 13. *of Octob.* 1642.

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19. *To the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, & Common-Councel of* Bristol, *about Mr.* Yeomans, *and Mr.* Bourchier, *&c. May* 29. 1643. From Oxford.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We are informed that by the power and authority of certain factious and rebellious persons in that Our City of *Bristol*, divers of Our good Subjects (as namely *Robert Yeomans*, *George Bourchier*, *William Yeomans*, *Edward Dacres* and others) of that Our City are imprisoned for preserving their duty and loyalty to us, and for refusing to joyn in or assist this horrid and odious Rebellion against us, & that the said wicked & traiterous persons have presumed to condemn the said innocent men to die, & upon such their sentence notoriously against the laws of God & man, they intend to execute

and murther Our said subjects; We have thought fit to signifie to you the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the rest of the body of the Councel of that Our City, that if you suffer this horrid and execrable murther to be committed upon the persons aforesaid, and thereby call the just judgement of God, and bring perpetual infamy upon that Our City, we shall look upon it, as the most barbarous and inhumane act, that hath been yet committed against us, and upon you, as the most desperate betrayers of us, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow Subjects. And we doe therefore will and command you, not to suffer any violence to be done upon the persons aforesaid, but that if any such be attempted against them, that you raise all the power and strength of that our City for their rescue; and to that purpose we command all Our good Subjects of that Our City to aid and assist you upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any grace and favour at Our hands: and that you and they kill and slay all such who shall attempt or endeavour to take away the lives of Our said Subjects; and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. And hereof you are not to fail at your utmost peril.

Given at Our Court at Oxford *May* 29. 1643.

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20. *To the City of* Gloceſter, *A Summons, with their Anſwer, Auguſt.* 10. 1643.

OUt of Our tender compaſſion to Our City of *Gloceſter*, and that it may not receive prejudice by Our Army, which we cannot prevent, if we be compelled to aſſault it, we are perſonally come before

fore it to require the same, and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other persons within that City, as well Souldiers as others, know, That if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this Our City to us, we are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every of them without exception; and to assure them on the word of a KING, that they nor any of them shall receive the least dammage or prejudice by Our Army in their persons or estates; but that we will appoint such a Governour, and a moderate Garrison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that City and that whole County. But if they shall neglect this proffer of Grace and Favour, and compell us by the power of Our Army to reduce that place (which by the help of God we doubt not we shall be easily and shortly able to do) they must thank themselves, for all the calamities and miseries must befall them. To this Message we expect a clear and positive Answer within two hours after publishing hereof. And by these presents do give leave to any persons safely to repaire to, and return from us, whom that City shall desire to employ unto us in that businesse. And do require all the Officers and Souldiers of Our Army, quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.

August. 10. 1643.

WE the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers and Souldiers within this Garrison of *Gloucester*, unto his gracious Message return this humble Answer; That we do keep this City according to our Oathes and Allegiance to and for the use of His Majesty and His Royall posterity, and do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the com-

mands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.

De. Wise, *Major*, John Brewster, G. Dawidson, Robert Maxwell, Edw. Massie, Con. Ferren, William Luggo, My. Singleton, Thomas Hill, Thomas Pury, Iohn Scriven, Nich. Webb, Io. Dorney, Anth. Edwards, John Halford, Toby Jordan, Hum. Mathewes, Isaac Dobson, Edward Gray, Charls Blount, Peter Crispe, Rob. Backhouse, Ja. Harcus, Tho. Pury *Iun.* Rob. Stevenson, Thomas Blayney.

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21. *To the Inhabitants of* Cornwall, *a Letter of thanks, Sept.* 10. 1643. *From* Sudely *Castle.*

C. R.

WE are so highly sensible of the extraordinary merit of Our County of *Cornwall*, of their zeal for the defence of Our person, and the just Rights of our Crown, (in a time when we could contribute so little to our own defence or to their assistance; in a time when not onely no reward appeared, but great and probable dangers were threatned to obedience and loyalty;) of their great and eminent courage and patience in their indefatigable prosecution of their great work against so potent an Enemy, backt with so strong, rich, and populous Cities, and so plentifully furnished and supplied with Men, Arms, Money Ammunition and provision of all kinds; And of the wonderfull successe with which it hath pleased Almighty God (though with the losse of some most eminent persons who shall never be forgotten by us) to reward their loyalty and patience by many strange Victories over their and our Enemies, in despight

despight of all humane probability, and all imaginable disadvantages; that as we cannot be forgetfull of so great deserts, so we cannot but desire to publish to all the World, and perpetuate to all Time, the memory of their merits, and of Our acceptance of the same. And to that end, We do hereby render our Royal thanks to that our County, in the most publick and most lasting manner we can devise, commanding Copies hereof to be printed and published, and one of them to be read in every Church and Chappel therein, and to be kept for ever as a Record in the same; That as long as the History of these Times, and of this Nation shall continue, the memory of how much that County hath merited from us and Our Crown, may be derived with it to posterity.

Given at Our Camp at Sudely-*Castle the tenth of September*, 1643.

22. *To the Earl of* Essex *at* Lestithiel, *with another letter to him from the Officers of the Kings Army*, *August.* 6. 1644. *From* Liskard *in* CORNWALL.

ESSEX, I have been very willing to believe, that when ever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable Kingdom, (which all good men desire) you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you, you have it at this time in your power to redeeme your Countrey and the Crown, & to oblige your King in the highest degree, (an Action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence and honour) such an opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath

hath ever had, or after you shall have. To which there is no more required, but that you joyn with Me heartily and really, in the setling of those things which We have both professed constantly to be Our onely aimes. Let us do this, and if any shall be so foolishly unnaturall, as to oppose their Kings, their Countries, and their own good, We will make them happy (by Gods blessing) even against their wills. The onely impediment can be want of mutuall confidence; I promise it you on my part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by my Letter to *Hertford* from *Evesham*. I hope this will perfect it, when (as I here do) *I* shall have engag'd unto you the word of a King, that you joyning with me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you and your Army such eminent marks of My confidence and valour, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust amongst you, either in relation to the publick, or your self, unto whom I shall then be

Your faithfull Friend,

Liskard, Aug. 6 1644. C. R.

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars, but this will admit of no delay.

My Lord,

WE having obtained his Majesties leave to send this to your Lordship, shall not repeat the many gracious Messages, Endeavours, and Declarations which His Majesty hath made, and have been so solemnly protested in the presence of God and Men, That we wonder how the most scrupulous can make any doubt of the real, and Royal performance of them. But we must before this approaching o-

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casion tell your Lordship, that we bear arms for this end only, to defend His Majesties known Rights, the Laws of the Kingdom, the Liberty of the Subject, the Priviledge of the Parliament, and the true Protestant Religion, against Popery and Popish Innovations: and this being the professed cause of your Lordships taking arms, we are confident, that concurring in the same opinions and pretences, we shall not by an unnaturall war weaken the main strength of this Kingdom, and advance the design of our Common Enemies, who long since have devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the exigent of the time will not suffer us to make any laboured Declarations of our intentions, but only this, That on the faith of Subjects, the Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Souldiers, we will with our Lives maintain that which his Majesty shall publickly promise in order to a bloodless peace, nor shall it be in the power of any private persons to divert this resolutions of ours, and the same we expect from you: And now we must take leave to protest, That if this our proffer be neglected, (which we make neither in fear of your power, nor distrust of our own, but only touched with the approaching miseries of our Nation) that what calamities shall oppress posterity, will lie heavy on the Souls and Consciences of those that shall decline this Overture; which we cannot hope so seasonably to make again, if this Conjuncture be let go: And therefore it is desired that your Lordship, and six other persons may meet our Generall to morrow (at such an indifferent place as you shall think fit) attended with as many; or if you shall find that any way inconvenient, to come in person, that then your Lordship will appoint such or so many to meet with the like number from hence, that may consider of all means possible to recon-

reconcile these unhappy differences and misunderstandings that have so long afflicted the Kingdom. And for the security of your Lordship, and those that shall come with, and be imployed by your Lordship, We do engage our faith and Honour, and do expect the same from your Lordship, desiring withall your very speedy Answer, which must be a guide to our proceedings. Concluding, that if this shall be refused, we shall hold our selves justified before God and men, whatsoever shall be the successe; so we rest.

From the Army, the 8 *of*
Aug. 1644. *Your Lordships*

humble Servants.

Maurice, Tho. Wentworth, Lindsey, Lo. Hopton, Northampton, Cleaveland, Tho. Blagge, Jos. Bamfield, Anth. Thelwel, Iohn Owen, Tho. Stradling, Robert Howard, John Stocker, Edw. Porter, Gilbert Armestrong, Rich. Nevel, Tho. Pigat, Jo. Browne, Adam Scroop, Amy Pollard, James Hamilton, Rich. Thornil, Jo. Topping, Ja. Dundasse, Gyles Strangewayes, R. Smith, James Cary, Brainford, Percey, Jacob Asteley, Rich. Cave, Bar. Stewart, Barnard Astley, Theo. Gilby, Will. Leighton, Will. Murrey, Tho. Blackwell, Tho. Bellingham, Rich. Page, Bar. Jenckes, Hen. Miller, Rich. Fielding, Tho. Weston, Paul Smith, G. Mouldsworth, Phil. Honywood, Tho. Culpeper, William Leake, Jo. Luntler, Io. Monck, Cha. Fawlke, Rich. Samuel, Arth. Slingsby, Geo. Goring, Ioseph Wagstaffe, Tho. Basset, Charls Lloyd, Geo. Lisley, Will. St, Leger, Hen. Lundesford, Barth. Pel, Henry Shelly, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Kyrton, Anthony Brochet, Devery Leigh, David Stringer, Ia. Mowbray,

bray, Charls Compton, Ed. Nott, Alex. Standish, Io. Ridech, Io. Steward, Io. Gambling, Io. Grienvile, Arthur Heningham, Iames Haswel, W. Maxwell.

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23. *To Prince* Rupert, *after the losse of* Bristol, *August* 3. 1645. *From* Cardiffe.

C. R.

NEphew, this is occasioned by a Letter of yours which the Duke of *Richmond* shewed Me yesternight. And first I assure you, I have been, and ever will be very carefull to advertise you of My resolutions, so soon as they were taken; and if I enjoyned silence to that which was no secret, it was not My fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so. Now as for your opinion of my businesse, and your Counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrell but the defence of My Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confesse that speaking either as a meer Souldier or Statesman, I must say there is no probability, but of My ruine, yet as a Christian I must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels and Traytors to prosper, nor this cause to be overthrown. And whatsoever peasonall punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less give over this quarrel; and there is as little question that a composition with them at this time, is nothing else but a submission, which by the grace of God I am resolved against whatsoever it cost Me; for I know My obligation to be both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon Gods cause, injure

jure My Successors, nor forsake My friends: Indeed I cannot flatter My self with expectation of good successe, more then this, to end my dayes with honour and a good Conscience, which obligeth Me to continue My endeavours, in not despairing, that God may yet in due time avenge his own cause, though I must aver to all My friends, that he that will stay with Me at this time, must expect and resolve, either to die for a good cause, or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it, as the violence of insulting Rebels can make him.

Having thus truly and impartially stated My case unto you, and plainly told you my resolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly or suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any wise to hearken now after Treaties, assuring you, that as low as I am, I will do no more than was offered in My Name at *Uxbridge*, confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be within a month in the same condition that I was immediately before the battel at *Naseby*. Therefore for Gods sake let Vs not flatter our selves with these conceits. And believe Me, your very imagination, that you are desirous of a Treaty, will but lose me so much the sooner; Wherefore, as you love Me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse hereafter according to My resolution and judgement.

As for the *Irish*, I assure you they shall not cheat Me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish Rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what Nation soever) more than I see by their actions. And I am sending to *Ormond* such a dispatch, as I am sure will please you and all ho-

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neſt Men, a copy whereof by the next opportunity you ſhall have. Laſtly, be confident, I would not have put you nor My Self to the trouble of this long Letter, had I not a great eſtimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendſhip too.

C. R.

Cardiffe Auguſt 3. 1645.

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24. *To the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *Aprill* 3. 1646. *From* Oxford.

C. R.

RIght truſty, and entirely beloved Couſin, and Councellour, We greet you well. Having uſed all poſſible and honourable means, by ſending many gracious Meſſages to the two Houſes of Parliament, wherein We have offered them all they have heretofore deſired, and deſire from them nothing but what they themſelves (ſince theſe unhappy wars) have offered, to procure Our perſonall Treaty with them for a ſafe and well-grounded peace; and having inſtead of a dutifull and peaceable return to Our ſaid Meſſages, received either no anſwer at all, or ſuch as argues nothing will ſatisfie them, but the ruine not onely of Vs, Our Poſterity, and Friends, but even of Monarchy it ſelf; And having lately received very good ſecurity, that We, and all that doe or ſhall adhere to Vs, ſhall be ſafe in Our perſons, honours, and Conſciences, in the Scottiſh Army, and that they ſhall really and effectually joyn with us, and with ſuch as will come in unto us, and joyn with them for Our preſervation, and ſhall imploy their Armies and Forces to aſſiſt Vs to the procuring of a hap-

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py and well grounded peace for the good of us and our Kingdoms, in the recovery of our just Right; We have resolved to put our selves to the hazard of passing into the *Scots* Army now lying before *Newarke*: And if it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resoived to use our best endeavour with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the Forces under the Marquesse of *Montrosse*, and such of our well-affected *Subjects* of *England* as shall rise for us, to procure it may be an honourable and speedy peace with those who hitherto refused to give eare to any meanes tending thereunto: of which our resolution we held it necessary to give you this advertisment, as well to satisfie you and our Councel and loyal Subjects with you (to whom we will that you communicate these our Letters) yet failing in our earnest and sincere endeavours by Treaty, to put an end to the miseries of these Kingdoms, we esteemed our self obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve our Crown and Friends from the usurpation and tyranny of those, whose actions declare so manifestly their designes, to overthrow the Laws, and happy established government of this Kingdom. And now we have made known to you our resolution, we recommend to your special care the disposing and managing of our affairs on that side, as that you shall conceive most for our honour and service, being confident the course we have taken (though with some hazard to our person) will have a good influence on that our Kingdom, and defer, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels transporting of Forces from them into that Kingdome. And we desire you to satisfie all Our well-affected *Subjects* on that side, of Our Princely care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect as soon as God shall enable us.

We

We desire you to use some means to let Vs and Our Council at *Oxon* hear frequently from you, and of your actions and condition there. And so God prosper your loyal Endeavours.

Given at Our Court at Oxon, *Aprill* 3. 1646.

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25. *To the Prince of* Wales, *June* 2. 1646. *From* Newcastle.

Charls,

THis is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than at this time to direct you any thing, I having wrote fully to your Mother, what I would have you to do; whom I command you to obey in every thing except in Religion; concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you; and see that you go not any whither without her or my particular directions. Let me hear often from you, and so, *GOD* bless you.

Newcastle, June 2. 1646.

Your loving Father, Charls R.

If *Jack Ashburnham* come where you are, command him to wait upon you, as he was wont, untill I shall send for him, if your Mother and you be together; if not, he must wait on her.

Oliver Maynell, Lanerick.

Superscribed.

For My Son the Prince.

26. *To the Marquesse of* Ormond, *June* 11. 1646. *from* Newcastle.

C. R.

RIght trusty, &c. Having long with much grief looked upon the sad condition our Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in these divers years through the wicked and desperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects have ensued thereupon; for the setling whereof We would have wholly applyed Our selves, if the difference between Vs and Our Subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn Vs: and not having been able by force (for that respect) to reduce them, We were necessitated for the present safety of Our Protestant Subjects there, to give you power and Authority to Treat with them, upon such pious, honourable, and safe grounds, as the good of that Our Kingdom did then require. But for many reasons too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further in Treaty with the Rebels, nor to engage Vs upon any conditions with them after sight hereof. And having formerly found such reall proofs of your ready obedience to Our Commands, We doubt not of your care in this, wherein Our service, and the good of Our Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, is so much concerned.

From Newcastle, *June* 11. 1646.

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27. *To the Governours of His Majesties Garrisons, June* 10. 1646. *From* Newcastle.

THis is added to His Majesties 24th. Message for peace, where the Reader may find it.

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28. *To the Duke of* Yorke, *July* 4. 1647. *From* Cawsham.

C. R.

IAMES, I am in hope, that you may be permitted, with your Brother, and Sister, to come to some place betwixt this and *London*, where I may see you.

To this end therefore I command you to ask leave of the two Houses, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather than not to see you, I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and go back at night.

And fore-seeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the Army, as I am, may be objected, to hinder this my desire;

I have full assurance from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the chief Officers, that there will be no interruption, or impediment, made by them for your return, how, and when you please.

So GOD bless you.

Cawsam, July 4. 1647.

Your loving Father, CHARLS R.

POST-SCRIPT.

Send me word as soon as you can, of the time, and place, where I shall have the contentment of seeing you, your Brother, and Sister.

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29. *To Colonell* Whaly, *Novemb.* 11. 1647. *From* Hampton-Court.

COlonell *Whaley*; I have been so Civilly used by you and Major *Huntington*, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under My hand; as also to desire the continuance of your courtesie, by your protecting of My Housholdstuffe and moveables of all sorts, which I leave behind Me in this House, that they be neither spoiled nor imbesled: only there are three pictures here which are not mine, that I desire you to restore; to wit, my Wives picture in blew, sitting in a Chair, you must send to Mrs. *Kirk*, My eldest Daughters Picture copied by *Belcam*, to the Countesse of *Anglesey*, and my Lady *Stannops* Picture to *Cary Rawley*; there is a fourth which I had almost forgot, it is the originall of My eldest Daughter (it hangs in this chamber over the board next the chimney) which you must send to my Lady *Aubigney*. So being confident that you wish My preservation and restitution, I rest

Your friend,
Charls R.

I assure you it was not the Letter you shewed me to day, that made me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that kind; but I confesse that I am loath to be made a close Prisoner, under pretence of securing my life. I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black Grew-Bitch to the D. of *Richmond*.

30. *To*

30. *To the Lord* Mountague, *November* 11. 1647. *From* Hampton-Court: *with a Letter from* E. R. *to His Majesty, Novemb.* 9. 1647.

Mountague, first I do hereby give you and the rest of your fellowes thanks for the civilities and good conversation that I have had from you; next I command you to send this my Message (which you will find upon this Table) to the two Houses of Parliament, and likewise to give a Copy of it to Colonell *Whaley* to be sent to the Generall: likewise I desire you to send all My saddle-Horses to My Son the Duke of *York*: As for what concernes the resolution that I have taken, my Declaratory Message says so much that I refer you to it, and so I rest

Your assured Friend,
Charls R.

May it please your Majesty,

IN discharge of My Duty I cannot omit to acquaint you, that My Brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine Agitators, who in debate of the obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting their designs, did conclude it was your Majesty, and as long as your Majesty doth live, you would be so; and therefore resolved, for the good of the Kingdom to take your life away: and to that action they were well assured, that Mr. *Dell*, and Mr. *Peters* (two of their Preachers) would willingly beare them company; for they had often said to these Agitators, your Majesty is but a dead Dog. My prayers are for your Majesties safety; but do too much fear it cannot be whilst you are in those hands.

I wish with my soul your Majesty were at my house in *Broadstreet*, where I am confident I could keep you private till this storm were over, but beg your Majesties pardon, and shall not presume to offer it as an advice; it is only my constant zeal to your service, who am

Your Majesties dutifull Subject,

Novemb. 9. 1647. E. R.

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31. *To Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *Novemb.* 26. 1647. *From* Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

HAving left order at Our remove from *Hampton-Court*, that a Copy should be given you, of what We had then written to both Houses of Parliament touching the causes of Our withdrawing, and the continuance of our resolutions to improve every occasion of the satisfaction of all chief Interests, that so a happy peace may be setled in our Dominions; In pursuance whereof, we have lately sent a Message to both Houses from this place, and a copy of it to you; and being desirous in order to that blessed work, to give you our present sense upon the condition of affairs, as they now stand: We have thought fit to appoint Sir *John Barkley* to repair unto you: and to communicate the same to you; And We shall be glad by him to receive a mutuall communication of your sense also, upon this subject; not doubting, but you easily perceive by the late disorders, into what a depth of confusion the Army and the Nation will fall, if timely and effectuall preventions be not used, and there-

therefoae We have now again propoſed (as the oneſy expedient) a perſonall Treaty, for the compoſing of all differences, and fulfilling the deſires of all intereſts, to which if you will imploy your credit, as you cannot but expect the bleſſings of God upon your endeavors therein; ſo may you juſtly look for the beſt return that ever our condition ſhall be able to make you.

Given at Carisbrook-Caſtle, *Novemb.*26. 1647.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General.

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32. *To Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *Novemb.*27.1647. *From* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

C. R.

THe free liberty which you willingly afforded Vs to have of the uſe of our Chaplains, makes Vs at this time not onely to acknowledge your former civilities, but likewiſe now to acquaint you that three of our Chaplains, to wit, Dr. *Shelden*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, and Dr. *Haywood*, are newly landed in this Iſle, not doubting but they ſhall have the ſame protection that formerly they had, which ſtill will ſhew the continuation of your good reſpect unto Vs, which We upon all fitting occaſions ſhal not be backward to acknowledge. So we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Carisbrook-Caſtle, *Novemb.* 27. 1647.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Generall.

33. *To the Lords, Gentlemen and Comittee of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army, July* 3. 1648. *From* Carisbrook-Castle.

MY Lords and Gentlemen; it is no small comfort to me, that my native Country hath so true a sense of my present condition, as I find expressed by your Letter of the eighth of this Moneth, and your Declaration, both which I received upon Friday last; and the very same reason which makes you discreetly and generously at this time, forbear to presse any thing to me, hinders me likewise to make any particular professions unto you, lest it may be imagined that desire of liberty should now be the only Secretary to my thoughts: Yet thus much I cannot but say; that as in all human reason, nothing but a free *personal Treaty* with me, can settle the unhappy distractions of these distressed Kingdoms: So, if that could once be had, I would not doubt, but that (by the grace of God) a happy Peace would soon follow. Such force (I believe) true reason has in the hearts of all men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard; and I am not ashamed, at all times to professe, that it hath, and so shall be alwayes want of understanding, not of will, if I do not yeeld to reason, whensoever, and from whomsoever I hear it: and it were a strange thing, if reason should be less esteemed, because it comes from Me, which (truly) I do not expect from you: your Declaration seeming to Me, (and I hope your Actions will prove, that I am not deceived) to be so well grounded upon *Honour* and *Justice*; that albeit by way of opinion, I cannot give a *Placet* to every Clause in it; yet I am confident, upon a calm and friendly debate, We shall very well agree. To conclude; I cannot

not (for the present) better shew my thankfulness to you, for the generous and loyall expressions of your Affections to Me, than by giving you My honest and sincere Advice; which is, really and constantly, without seeking private ends, to pursue the publick professions in your Declaration, as sincere Christians and good Subjects ought to do, alwayes remembring, that as the best foundation of Loyalty is Christianity, so true Christianity teaches perfect Loyalty; for without this reciprocation, neither is truly what they pretend to be: But I am both confident that needs not to you, as likewise, that you will rightly understand this, which is affectionately intended by your assured Friend,

Carisbrook, *Monday* 31. *July* 1648. C. R.

His

His Majesties PRIVATE LETTERS To the QUEEN, and others.

His Majesty's

PRIVATE LETTERS

To the

QUEEN,

and others.

His MAJESTIES Private Letters to the Queen and others: With the Queens Letters to his Majesty, Intercepted and published by the Parliament: With his Majesties Letter to secretary *Nicholas* concerning the publishing of them, and part of one of his Majesties Declarations concerning the same.

Wherein do evidently appear to his Majesties Honour (contrary to the intention of the first publishers) his Majesties Princely Wisdom, and Piety, with the Reality and Truth of his publick professions; and that his ends were only the peace and happinesse of his Subjects, by their submission to his just Regall Power.

His Majesties Letter to Secretary Nicholas, *concerning the Parliaments intercepting and publishing His Letters.* Cardiffe *August the fourth*, 1645.

Nicholas,

HAving commanded your fellow Secretary to give you a full account, as well of our proceedings here, as resolutions, I will neither trouble you nor my self with repetitions; onely for my self, I must desire you to let every one know, that no distresses of Fortune whatsoever, shal make me by the grace of God, in any thing recede from those grounds I laid down to you who were my Commissioners at *Vxbridg*, and which (I thank them) the Rebels have published in print; and though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are mine, which they have set out in my Name, (only some words here and there

there are mistaken, and some Comma's misplaced, but not much material) nor as a good Protestant or honest man, blush for any of those papers. Indeed, as a discreet man I will not justifie my self; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing, that the freedom of all his private Letters were publickly seen, as mine have now been. However, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their Fortune: It is concerning the Mungrel Parliament. The truth is, that *Sussex* his factiousnesse at that time, put me some-what out of patience, which made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my Wife, and the intention of that phrase was, that his Faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of base Propositions. This is clearly evidenced by my following excuse to her, for suffering those people to trouble her, the reason being to eschew those greater inconveniences which they had, and were more likely to cause here, than there. I am now going to supper, and so I rest.

Your most assured Friend,

C. R.

Part of His Majesties Declaration of June 3. 1643. concerning some of the said Leters intercepted and published. 1643.

BUt they have found a Letter of His Majesties to the Queen, which shews that the great and eminent places of the Kingdom are disposed of by her advice, (and then conclude from her Religion, that they are by consequence disposed of by the advice of Papists

Papists and Jesuits) and that the persons there named, even during the sitting of Parliament, are either all impeacht by them, or bear arms against them. To this his Majesty replyes: 1. That he cannot but deplore the condition of the Kingdom when Letters of all sorts of Husbands to Wives, even of his Majesty to his Royal Consort are intercepted, read, brought in Evidence, and publisht to the world. 2. That if they will remember how far many of those persons of both *Sexes*, who have received most notable marks of favour from her Majesty, are even in their own opinion, from so much as inclining to Popery, they must confesse her favours and recommendations not to be disposed of by Priests and Jesuits. 3. That the places there named in which her Majesties advice may seem to be desired, are not places (as they call it) of the Kingdome, but private menial places, a Treasurer of the Houshold, a Captain of the Pensioners, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber; That concerning the other more publick places, His Majesty absolutely declares himself, without leaving room for her advice, which seems to prove the contrary to that, which by this they intend to prove. Fourthly, That of the persons there named, there is not one that either is a Papist, or so like one, that a Jesuite may be thought to have recommended him, nor any one (except the Lord *Digby*) that was either impeacht, or otherwise taxt, or that could appear to his Majesty to have ever been in any degree dislikt by both or either House, before assisting his Majesty against a Rebellion did lately become Treason: And whosoever considers the time and other circumstances even of that impeachment, and that their eyes were then so dazeled with Fears and Jealousies, as to take a Coach and six horses

for

for an Army raised against them, will hardly look upon that impeachment with that reverence which hath usually been paid to accusations of that kind: And for their bearing of arms in such a time, wherein all his Majesties subjects do either bear or assist arms either for or against him, he supposes that it will not be thought strange, if he choose persons for such places as are in his own dispossall, rather out of the first sort than out of the second.

And as his Majesty hath fully answered their observations upon his Letters, so he believes not one thing more (though unobserved by this Declaration) cannot but be observed out of them by his people; and that is, that in his Majesties most private Letters, to the person neerest to him, wherein he cannot (as by some in publick Declarations he is) be suspected to say any thing out of design or policy, his own clear perswasions, that the Rebels, and not he, have been the cause and are the Fosterers of this warre and universall distraction, and his sense of it, and his desire of the end of it, are so plainly expresst, that they will by this accident be much satisfied with his Majesties innocence and reality, and believe that the reading this in such a Letter, is the very next degree to reading it in his heart.

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1. *To the Queen, Ian.* 23. 1642. *Oxford*

Dear Heart,

SAturday and Sunday last, I received two from thee, of the 29. of December, 9. of Ianuary, both which, gave me such contentment as thou mayst better judge, then I describe; the which, that thou mayest the better do, know I was full three weeks wanting

wahting but one day, without hearing from thee, besides scurvy *London* news of thy stay and lameness, which though I did not believe, yet it vext me so much the more, that I could not prove them liars; so now I conjure thee by the affections thou beareſt me, not only to judge, but likewise participate with me in the contentment thou haſt given me by assuring me of thy health and speedy returne, concerning 45. 31. 7, 4. 132. 300. I will answer thee in thy own words, *Ie le remetteray a vous respondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give thee contentment; in the mean time assure thy selfe, That I neither have, nor will lose any time in that buſineſſe, and that I have not contented my selfe with generalls; and though I hope shortly to have the happineſſe of thy company, yet I muſt tell thee of some particulars in which I desire both thy opinion and assistance; I am persecuted concerning places, and all desire to be put upon thee, for the which I cannot blame them; and yet thou knoweſt I have no reason to do it, *Newarke* desireth *Savills* place, upon condition, to leave it when his Father dieth; *Ganerworth* the same, being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom, or how I please: *Digby* and *Dunſmore*, for to be Captaine of the Pensioners, *Harford* once looked after it, but now I believe he expects either to be Treasurer, or of my Bedchamber; I incline rather to the latter if thou like it, for I absolutely hold *Cottington* the fitteſt man for the other. There is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deserve as well as any, I mean *Capel*; therefore I desire thy assistance to finde somewhat for him before he ask. One place I muſt fill before I can have thy opinion, It is the Maſter of the Wards; I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being con-

fident that thou wilt not mislike my choice; and if he cannot perform both, *Ned Hyde* must be Secretary, for indeed, I can trust no other. Now I have no more time to speak of more, but to desire thee not to engage thy Self for any;

Dated *Oxford.* *So I rest*
20 *Feb.* 23. *Jan.* *eternally thine,*
C. R.

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2. *To the Queen, March.* 2. 1642. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

THough ever since Sunday last I had good hopes of thy happy landing, yet I had not the certaine news thereof, before yesterday, when I likewise understood of thy safe coming to *York*: I hope thou expectest not welcom from me in words, but when I shall be wanting in any other way (according to my wit and power) of expressing my love to thee, then let all honest men hate and eschew me, like a Monster: and yet when I shall have done my part, I confesse, that I shall come short of what thou deservest of me.

H. 3. 189. *e* 3. 42. 17. 25. 27. 39. 21. 66. *a* 1. 45. 31. 7. 4. 32. 18. 47. 46. 9. 3. *d* 4. *g.* 4. 46. 35. 67. 48. 7. 40. 5. 43. 74. 3. 41. 7. 33. 62. 8. 63. 68. 50. 64. 34. 9. 51. 45. 69. 46. 37. *deer.* 45. 31. 7. 1. 33. 18. 49. 47. 19. 21. 10. 70. 13. 7. 45. 58. 8. 9. 41. 10. *this a* 2. 324. *in the meantime* 46. 31. 7. 50. *e* 3. 29. 3. 6. 8. 48. 75. 41. 9. 2. *upon* 60. 19. 50. 61. 27. 26. 7. 69. 12. 19. 47. 45. 8. 24. Yesterday there were Articles of a Cessation brought me from *London*, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them;

them: yet to undeceive the people by shewing it is not I, but those who have caused and fostered this Rebellion, that desire the continuance of this war and universal distraction; I am framing Articles fit for that purpose, both which, by my next, I mean to send thee, 219. *b* 3. 58. 51. 75. 46. 7. 3. 45. 37. 2. 189. 46. 38. 1. *g* 1. 173. 131. *which I think fit to be done*, *a* 5. 4. 30. 3. *n* 5. *d* 3. 46. 31. 8. 10. 2. 32. 18. 64. 7. 3. 45. 31. 9. 66. 46. 32. 19. 41. 25. 48. *k* 1. *e* 4. 67. 69. 63. I am now confident that 173. is right for my service: Since the taking of *Cicester*, there is nothing of note done of either side, wherefore that little news that is, I leave to others; onely this I assure thee, That the distractions of the Rebels are such, that so many fine designes are laid open to us, we know not which first to undertake; but certainly my first and chiefest care is, and shall be to secure thee, and hasten our meeting: So longing to hear from thee, I rest eternally thine.

Oxford, 12. *March*, 1642.

C. R.

The last I received of thine was dated the $\frac{16}{6}$ *Feb.* and I believe none of my foure last are come to thee; their dates are $\frac{13}{3}$. $\frac{23}{3}$. $\frac{25}{15}$. *Feb.* and 20. *Feb.* or *March* 2.

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3. *To the Queen, February.* 13. 1643.

Dear Heart,

I Never till now knew the good of Ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; We having had a pleasing false re-

port, of thy safe landing at *Newcastle*; which thine of the 19. of *Jan.* so confirmed us in, that we, at least were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shal not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happinesse of thy company, for indeed I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast runne so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to me, that I confesse it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much lesse by words; but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee of the 23. of February has bred great discourse in severall persons, and of severall kinds, as my saying I was persecuted for places, is applyed to all, and only those that I there name to be Suitors: whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time to name, as well as some there mentioned: for I confess 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault; some find fault with too much kindnesse to thee (thou mayst easily vote from what constellation that comes) but I assure such that I want expression, not will to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions; others presse me as being brought upon the Stage; but I answer, that having profest to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our Treaty (leaving the particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my part in it, for all the souldiers are well pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of arms, for the lower House will have none without

a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed: Lastly, for our Military affairs, I thank God that here, and in the West they prosper well; as for the North, I refer thee to 226. 140. information: So dayly expecting aud praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my Wife. 13. *Feb.* 1643. A true Copy
Oxford 13. *Feb.* 1643. *Zoucke Tate.*

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4. *To the Queen, Ian.* 1. 1644.

Oxford, Ian. 1. 1644.

DEar Heart, I receive it as a good Augury thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30. of December, which I cannot stay to decipher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short account; this day I dispatched *Digbies* Sec. fully relating the state of our affairs, therefore I shall only now tell thee, that the Rebels are engaged into an equall treaty, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended, when *Tom Elliot* went hence, and that the distractions of *London* were never so great, or so likely to bring good effects, as now lastly that assistance was never more needfull, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife. 1. *Ian.* 1644. by *P. A.*

This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

5. To the Queen, Ian. 9. 1644. Oxford.

Oxford, Ian. 9.

DEar Heart, since my last, which was by *Talbot*, the Scots Commissioners have sent to desire me to send a Commission to the Generall Assembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making an handsome negative, I have demanded a passeport for *Philip Warwick* by whom to return my answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that *Lentall* the Speaker brags, that Cardinall *Mazarin* keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not swear that *Lentall* says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabrian*, I am confident that either he or his instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from *London*, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (besides four Scotch Commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Vxbridge* for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised that Generall *Goring* prospers well where he is, and since Monday last hath taken 80. of the Rebels horse, and upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

POSTSCRIPT.

The setling of Religion, and the Militia, are the first to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit Episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into my hands.

Copy to my wife 9. Ian. 1644. *By* P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

6. To

6. *To the Queen, January, 14. 1644. Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

POoly came the $\frac{13}{23}$ of January, to whose great dispatch, though for some dayes I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confesse it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentionest, if their affections were so real, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will shew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of sending; wherefore if any be neglected more, than our wits are faulty; but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it though he say it: And for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their wearinesse of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; and of this, is not the proposall of thy journey to *Ireland*, a pretty instance? For seriously of it self, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it, being most assuredly onely to expresse thy love to me, and not thy judgement in my affaires: As for the businesse it self, (I mean the peace of *Ireland*) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope

to receive from it; I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy self, onely thou maist in generall let the Queen Regent and Ministers there understand, that I have offered my Irish Subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really beleeve. But for Gods sake let none know the particulars of My dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugal Agent, (and little to the French) it being by his means that I have sent thee all my Letters, (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

I will not trouble thee with repetitions of newes, Digbies *dispatch which I have seen being so full, that I can adde nothing: yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation; It is this, nothing can be more evident, then that* Straffords *innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of Gods just judgments upon this Nation by a furious civill war, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty: but now this last crying blood, being totally theirs; I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our Cause, having passed by our faults.*

This is a true Coppy examined by *E. Prideaux.*

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7. *To the Queen, Ian.* 22. 1644. *O: for l.*

Dear Heart,

SInce my last by *Shoquen* I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter: That wch is now,

is

is the progress of the Treaty, of which, these enclosed papers will give thee a full account: but if thou have them sooner from *London* than me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way, I am forced to send by, in respect of the other: For the business it self, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of Treaters, and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last: wherefore I need to say nothing of them; and for my instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them; Now upon the whole matter, I desire thee to shew the Queen and Ministers there the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebells propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, untill they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance by thy means, will soon make them so; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable summe of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning Our *Interferings here at Oxford*, I desire thee to suspend thy judgement, (for I believe few but partiall relations will come to thee) untill I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to Vs both, to set them down in paper.

Copy to my Wife 22 *Ian.* 1644.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Miles Corbet.*

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8. *To*

8. *To the Queen, Jan.* 30. 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

SUnday last I received three Letters from thee; one a Duplicate of the 30 of December, an other of the sixth of January, and the last of the 14 of Jan. and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the last, wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extreamly wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to our Cause, (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to me by any, or that thy care for my assistance, hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance; but I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more then a bare suspition; And indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire, these three last making no mention of thy self. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day,) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such an one as will not stand with my honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I send thee herewith My directions to my Commissioners,

missioners, but how I came to make them my self, without any others, *Digby* will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning Military as Cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things, (only not answering for words) truly shew my Self to be eternally thine.

The *Portugall* Agent hath made me two propositions: First, concerning the release of his Masters Brother, for which I shall have 500001. if I can procure his Liberty from the King of *Spain*, the other is for a marriage betwixt my Son *Charls* and his Masters eldest Daughter: For the first, I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will *give such an answer as shall signifie nothing.*

I desire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabrans* relations, nor much countenance to the Irish Agents in *Paris*, the particular reasons thou shalt have by *Pooly*, (whom I intend for my next Messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of *Jersey* and *Gernesey*, it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weak at sea.

To my Wife, 30. *Ian.* 1644. By Legge.
This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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9. *To the Queen, March* 13. 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

WHat I told thee the Last week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed, and now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantagious to my self or friends in order to a Treaty, it will be merely my own fault, for I confess when I wrote last,

last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose:) But now I promise thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not without some eminent good successe on my side) it shall be to my honor & advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, our Mungrel Parl. here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilmot* being already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Sussex* within few dayes taking his journey to thee, but that I know thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences; yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to me, I might reasonably apprehend that their repair to thee would rather prove a change, than an end of their villanies: and I cannot deny, but my confidence in thee, was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of *March*, by which thou puts me in hope of assistance of men and Money, and it is no little expression of thy love to me, that (because of my business) Festivals are troublesome to thee; *But I see that assemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee*, and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies, and excuse me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that meer Statesmen should desire to be rid of thee; therefore I desire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much, to make a personall friendship with the Queen Regent, (without shewing any distrust of her Ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) and to shew her, that when her Regency comes out (and possibly before)

fore) she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve her self by helping of thee: and to say no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppresse me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the last place I desire thee, to give me a weekly account of thy health, for I fear lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to expresse thy kindnesse to him who is eternally thine.

The Northern news is rather better than what we first heard, for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdales*, and *Montrosses* victories, *Carlile* and the rest of our Northern Garrisons are relieved, and we hope for this year secured; and besides all this, the Northern Horse are already returned and join'd with my Nephew *Rupert*.

To my Wife, 13. *March*. 1644. *by* P. A.

This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

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10. *To the Queen. March*. 27. 1645. *Oxford*.

Oxford, Thursday, March. 27.

DEar Heart, I wrote to thee yesterday by *Sakefield*; the subject of it was only kindnesse to thee, which, I assure thee shall ever be visible in all my actions: And now I come to *Iermins* account, given me by thy Command, which is very clear, hopefull in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment in the Duke of *Lorrains* businesse (which is his passage) why may thou not procure him passage through

through *France* (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the Sea transportation in respect of landing on the Western coast, which I believe will be found the best, there being not so many places to chuse on, any where else. But this is an opinion, not a direction.

The generall face of my affairs me-thinks begins to mend, the dissentions at *London* rather increasing than ceasing, *Montrosse* daily prospering, my Western businesse mending apace, and hopefull in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other, I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been since this rebellion began, and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto me. And so farwell Dear heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to bestow *Piercies* place on the M. of *Newcastle*, to whom yet I am no wayes engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for *Iack Barkclay*, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Mr. of the Wards: For *Cottington* had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary *Nicholas*, if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I desire thee to command Lord *Jermin* to read to to thee the Drs. Letter which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the Transportation of the D. of *Lorrains* Army.

To my Wife 27. March 1645. by P. A.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet*.

11. *To the Queen March* 30. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

SInce my last (which was but three days ago) there are no alterations hapned of moment, preparations rather than actions being yet Our chiefest businesse, in which we hope that we proceed faster than the Rebels, whose levie both of men and money (for certaine) goes on very slowly; and I believe they are much weaker than is thought, even here at *Oxford*. For instance, a very honest servant of mine, and no Fool, shewed me a Propositon from one of the most considerable *London* Rebels, who will not let his name be known untill he have hope that his propositon will take effect; it is this, That since the Treaty is so broken off, that neither the Rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming totall yeelding to the other, The Treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance that the Rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted my Servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a worke as is the peace of this Kingdome; *but that upon no terms thy name was to be proph ned*, therefore he was to be *satisfied of the Rebels willingnesse to yeeld to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former offers.* This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, That most assuredly France *will be the best way for transportation of the D. of* Lorrains *Army, there being divers fit and safe places of Landing for them upon the Western Coasts, besides the Ports under my obedience, as* Shelsey *neer* Chichester, *and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.*

By my next I think to tell thee when we shall march into to the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.

To my wife, March 30, 1645. by *Petit.*
This is a true copy examined by
Edm. Prideaux.

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12. *To the Queen, April, 9. 1645. Oxford.*

The little that is here in Cypher is in that which I sent to thee by *Pooly.*

Dear Heart.

Though it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow Messenger, yet all occasions of this (which is now the onely) way of conversing with thee, is so welcom to me, as I shall be loath to lose any; expect neither news or publick busines from me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by my self, even these nothings will not be unwelcome unto thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking alarms; I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is unseparably conjoyned with thine, must not all my actions

actions tend to serve and please thee? *If thou knew what a life I lead (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of conversation, which in my mind, is the chief joy or vexation of ones life, I dare say thou wouldst pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busie, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to businesse) than* 3.2.8.270.55.5.7.67.18.294.35.66.16.54.6.38.1.67.68.9.66. *thou maist easily judge how My conversation pleaseth me.* I confess thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleased, but not less to be pittied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me as often as thou canst with thy Letters; and dost not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects unto me, though thou hast no other businesse to write of? believe Me sweet Heart, thy kindnesse is as necessary to comfort My heart, as thy assistance is for My affairs.

To my Wife 9 Aprill 1645. *by* Binion.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Miles Corbet.*

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13. *To the Queen, May* 4. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

THe rebells new bruitish Generall hath refused to meddle with forrain passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the way of *London*, which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West; and now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I

could have but few melancholly thoughts, for I thank God My affairs begin to smile upon me again, *Wales* being well swept of the Rebells, *Farrington* having relieved it self, and now being secured by *Gorings* coming, My Nephews having likewise brought me a strong party of Horse and Foot, these quarters are so free, that I hope to be marching within three or four dayes, and am still confident to have the start of the Rebells this year; I am likewise very hopefull that my Son will shortly be in the head of a good Army, for this I have the cheerfull assurance of *Culpepper* and *Hyde*: of late I have been much pressed to make *Southampton* Master of my Horse, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might return to a capacity of recosening me, wherein if I had done nothing, both jealousie and discontents were like to arise, wherefore I thought fit to put my Nephew *Rupert* in that place, which will both save me charge, and stop other mens grumblings: I have now no more to say, but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my Wife 4. *May* 1645. *by* Malin St. Ravy.

This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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14. *To the Queen, May* 9. 1644. *Droit Wiche,*

Dear Heart,

MArching takes away the conveniency of sending my letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee: there is so little newes for the present, as I will leave that subject for

others,

others, only upon Saturday last I received a dispatch from *Montrosse*, which assures me his condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident that his Countreymen shall do me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500. horse, he would undertake to bring me 20000. men before the end of this Summer. For the generall state of my affairs, We all here think to be very hopefull; this Army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; My sons such, that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himself. Its true that I cannot brag of any great store of money, but a sharp sword alwayes hinders starving at least; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their levies could not be so backward as they are, for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their Northern forces are, but except they are much stronger than I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of My Son *Charls*, which troubles me the more, that thou maist suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is this, He hath sent to desire Me, that Sir *John Grienfield* may be sworn Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, but he is already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusall would be a great disgrace both to my Son, and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his Fathers merits, and his own hopefulnesse, besides the great power that Family has in the West. Yet I have refused the admitting of him untill I shall

hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my Son for ingaging himself without one of Our consents: then, not to refuse thy own consent: and lastly, to believe that directly, or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of My Sons Letter. So farewell, Sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee.

To my Wife, May 14. 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by *Miles Corbet.*

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15. *To the Queen, Iune* 9. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

OXford being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee than otherwise I could have expected, which makes me believe, that my good newes will not be very stale, which in short is this, since the taking of *Leiecester*, my marching down hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before *Bostol House*; at first I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but they are since gone to *Brickhill*, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be: whether by their distractions, (which are certainly very great,) *Fairfax* and *Brown* having been at Cudgells, and his men and *Cromwells* likewise at blows together, where a Captain was slain, or wasting their men, I will not say: besides *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the Western

Weſtern Rebells, but I do not yet know the particulars, wherefore I may (without being too much ſanguine) affirm, that (ſince this Rebellion) My affairs were never in ſo fair and hopefull a way, though among our ſelves We want not Our own follies, which is needleſſe, and I am ſure tedious to tell thee, but ſuch as I am confident ſhall do no harm, nor much trouble me: Yet I muſt tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz-Williams*, aſſuring me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindneſs, which makes me capable of taking contentment in theſe good ſucceſſes: *For as divers men propoſe ſeveral aecompences to themſelves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion; ſo thy company is the only reward I expect and wiſh for.*

To my Wife 9 June, 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Miles Corbet.*

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16. *To the Queen, Decemb.* 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

I Know thy Affection to Me ſo truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble, to find My reputation, as My life in danger: therefore leſt the falſe ſound of My offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon baſe and unſafe terms ſhould diſturb thy thoughts, I have thought it neceſſary (to aſſure thy minde from ſuch rumours) to tell thee the wayes I have uſed to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I ſhall firſt ſhew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better underſtand and approve of My wayes; Then know (as a

certain truth) that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew my reall intentions to peace; *And likewise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hindtr Me from a good Peace: First, because their own party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in Religion, and General against General in point of Command: Upon these grounds a Treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good successe) the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety, amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably concealable) the sound of My return to* London *was thought to have so much force of popular Rhetorick in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantagious to me: yet lest fooliſh or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joyn'd conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signifie nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace.* Then observe, if a Treaty at *London* with Commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used, nor, in case they will treat with no body but my Self, so that the Conditions saves any aspersion of dishonour, and the treating at *London* the malignity which our factious Spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumors, and though *I* judge my Self secure in thy thoughts from suspecting Me guilty of any baseness,

yet

yet *I* held this account necessary, to the end thou mayst make others know, as well as thy self, this certain truth, That no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affairs, *I* refer thee to 92, concluding (as *I* did in my last to thee) conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace (and now *I* adde) nor hopefull condition of mine, make thee neglect to hast succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. *by* Tom. Elliot.

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17. *To the Queen, Ianuary* 2. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

HAving decypher'd thine which *I* received yesterday, *I* was much surprized to find thee blame Me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed *I* have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and *I* assure thee never any dispatch went from either of my Secretaries without one from me, when *I* knew of it.

As for my calling those at London *a Parliament, I shall refer thee to* Digby *for particular satisfaction, this in generall; If there had been but two (besides my Self) of My opinion, I had not done it, and the Argument that prevailed with me, was that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them to be a Parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwayes, and accordingly it is registred in the Councel Books, with the Councels unanimous approbation; but thou wilt finde, that it was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.*

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked; yet *I* wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction hath been presented to thee in the uglyest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it, the fear of some such mischance made Me the more carefull to give thee a full account by *Tom Elliot*, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough *I* am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbeare judging harshly of my actions, before thou heareſt the reasons of them from me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem me as thou findest Me constant to those grounds thou lests Me withall, and so fare well Dear Heart.

Copy to my Wife, 2 Ian. 1644. *By* P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by *E. Prideaux.*

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18. *To the Queen, Feb.* 19. 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

I Cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the Issue of Our Treaty, onely the unreasonable stubbornesse of the Rebels, gives daily lesse and lesse hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastning all thou may, all possible assistance to me,

me, and particularly that of the D. of *Lorrains*; concerning which I received yesterday, good news from Dr. *Goffe*, that the P. of *Orange* will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negotiations goe hopefully on, by which and many other ways, I finde thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their severall kinds) to esteem most; but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montross*, who upon surprize totally routed those Rebels, killed 1500. upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of January 27. by the Portugall Agent, the only way (but expresses) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed *Sabran* sent me word yesterday, besides *some complements of the Imbargo of the Rebels ships in France* (*which I likewise put upon thy score of kindnesse*) but is well enough content that the Portugal should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the Rebels either by going to *London*, or disbanding my Army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit at least by the sympathy that is betwixt us) than to put my self into the reverence of perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the expresse thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can now assure thee, that *Hertogen* the Irish Agent is an arrant Knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending Pacquets.

To my Wife, Feb. 19. 1645. *by* P. A.
This is a true Copy, examined by *Ed. Prideaux.*

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19. *To the Queen, Feb.* 25. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

THe expectation of an expresse from thee (as I find by thine of the 4. Febr.) is very good news to me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our Treaty, there is every day lesse hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy returne. For *I* vow that without thy company *I* can neither have peace nor comfort within my selfe. The limited days for treating, are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore *I* have sent for inlargement of dayes, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the World. And *I* assure thee, that thou *needst not doubt the issue of this Treaty; for my Commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatned nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou so well remembers.* And in this not only their obedience, but their judgments concur, *I* confesse that in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to *London*: for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than

than was fit; of which perswasion *Percy* is one of the chiefe, who is shortly like to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning our proceedings here. *In* short, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hottest for Warre of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in making peace *I* shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all our Friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetuall Parliament. But as thou loveſt me, let none perswade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine.

C. R.

To my Wife, 15. *Feb.* 1645. *by* P. A.
This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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20. *To the Queen, March* 9. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

NOw is come to passe what I foresaw, the fruitlesse end (as to a present peace) of this Treaty; but *I* am still confident, that *I* shall still find very good effects of it; for besides that my Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the Rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which *I* dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly, the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise, at this time discovered, and shall likewise make it evidently appear to the world, that the *English* Rebels, (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies,

lies, transmitted the command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the *Scots*, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these Rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much lesse the only end of the *Scotch* Rebellion; but it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawfull meanes to maintaine it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: It is, that I give thee power to promise in my Name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penall lawes against the Roman Catholicks in *England* as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerfull assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this businesse requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can expresse to thee; for it is no thank to me to trust to thee in any thing else but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us: *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this*, I trusting thee (though it concern Religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this bearer *Pooly*, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cypher, assuring thee that none hath or shall have any copy of it but my self, to the end thou mayest use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher,

and

and to be decyphered by none but me; and so likewise from Him to thee who is eternally thine.

To my Wife, 5. March, 1645. by Pooly.
This a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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21. *To the Queen, March* 20. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

VPon Saturday last *I* wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this I believe may come as soon to thee) and I have received thine of the seventh upon Monday last, which gave me great contentment both in present and expectation, (the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance) and yet *I* cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy latter dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though *I* confesse, that in this no news is good news, yet *I* am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; & *I* hope thou wilt by satisfying me confesse the justnesse of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation (*I* pray God send me a good unlading) for I look dayly for some blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from *Ireland*, likewise the refractory horse (as the *London* Rebels call them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none, if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howsoever I doubt not, but if they stand out (as it is probable) good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next weeke, having sent to try their pulses.

Petit

Petit came yesterday, but he having at *London* thrust his Dispatches into the States Ambassadors Pacquets *I* have not yet received them, and *I* would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Western-news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or four dayes; onely *I* congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy Tin-adventure at *Callis*; and so farewell Sweet heart.

Thine of the tenth *I* have newly received, whereby *I* finde that thou much mistakes me concerning *Ir.* for *I* desire nothing more than a peace there; and never forbad thy commerce there; onely *I* gave thee warning of some *Irish* in *France*, whom *I* then thought and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife, 20. March, 1644. by *P A.*
This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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22. *To the Marquesse of* Ormond, *December.* 15. 1644. Oxford.

ORMOND, *I* am sorry to finde by Colonel *Barry* the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which *I* cannot finde so good and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, it being likewise to redresse most necessary affairs here; wherefore *I* command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which *I* hope my publick Dispatch will give you sufficient *I*nstruction and Power, yet *I* have thought it necessary for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with my own hand. As for *Poinings* Act *I* refer you to my other Letter: and for matter of Religon, though *I* have

not

not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which *Brown* gave you, yet *I* must command you to give him my L. *Muskery* and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking to their Nation in Generall, and they in particular should have comfort in what they have done, *and to shew that this is more than words, I do hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the penal Statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Irish gives me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consent to the repeale of them by a law; but all those against Appeals to* Rome, *and Premunire must stand*; all this in Cypher, you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strict secrecy; so againe recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of *Ireland*, and my necessary supply from thence, as *I* wrote to you in my last private Letter, *I* rest.

A true Copy

Zouche Tate.

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23. *To the Marquesse of* Ormond, *January* 7. 1644. *Oxford.*

Ormond,

VPon the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, *I* think it necessary to tell you

you the true state of it, last mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there.

'The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and most 'assuredly, one of the first and chief Articles they 'will insist on, will be, to continue the Irish warre; '*which is a point not popular for me to break on*; of 'which you are to make a double use: First, to hasten 'with all possible diligence) the peace there, the 'timely conclusion of which will take off that incon-'venience which otherwayes I may be subject to, by 'the refusall of that Article, upon any other reason. 'Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish, the 'danger there may be of their total and perpetuall 'exclusion from those favours I intend them, in case 'the Rebels here clap up a peace with me, upon rea-'sonable tearms, and only exclude them; which 'possibly were not councealable for me to refuse, if 'the Irish peace should be the only difference be-'twixt us, before it were perfected there: these I 'hope are sufficient grounds for you to perswade the 'Irish diligently to dispatch a peace upon reasonable 'terms, assuring them that you having once fully 'engaged to them my word (in the conclusion 'of a peace) all the earth shall not make me break 'it.

'But not doubting of a peace, I must againe re-'member you to presse the Irish for their speedy 'assistance to me here, and their friends in *Scotland*; 'My intention being to draw from thence into *Wales* '(the peace once concluded) as many as I can 'of my armed Protestant *Subjects*, and desire that 'the Irish would send as great a body as they can to 'land about *Cumberland*, which will put those Nor-'thern Counties in a brave condition, wherefore you 'must take speedy order to provide all the shipping

'you

'you may, as well Dunkirk as Irish Bottoms; and 'remember that after March it will be most difficult 'to transport men from *Ireland* to *England*, the Re-'bels being masters of the Seas: So expecting a dili-'gent and particular account in answer to this Letter, 'I rest.

Your assured constant Friend,
C. R.

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24. *To the Marquesse of* Ormond, *February*, 16. 1644. *From* Oxford.

ORMOND, I should wrong my own service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherston*, if I did not recommend him and his busineſſe to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the neceſſity of the haſtening of the Iriſh Peace, for which I hope you are already furniſhed by me, with materials ſufficient: But in caſe (againſt all expectation and reaſon) peace cannot be had upon thoſe terms, you muſt not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Ceſſation (according to a Poſtſcript in a Letter by *Iack Barry*, a copy of which Diſpatch I herewith ſend you.) So I reſt.

POST-SCRIPT.

In caſe upon particular mens fancies, the Iriſh peace ſhould not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needleſſe) to ſeek to renew the ceſſation for a year, for which you ſhall promiſe the Iriſh (if you can have it no

cheaper) to joyn with them against the Scots and *Inchiquin*; for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept lesse, *or I be able to grant more.*

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25. *To the Marquess of* Ormond, *Feb.* 27. 1647.

Ormond,

THe impossibility of preserving my Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions, which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest that the English Rebels have (as far as in them lyes) given the command of *Ireland* to the Scots; that their aim is at a total subversion of Religion and Regall power; and that nothing less will content them, or purchase peace here; I think my self bound in conscience not to let slip the means of setling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to lose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish Subjects, for such scruples as in a lesse pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me: For their satisfaction I doe therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that my Protestant Subjects there may be secured, and my Regall Authority preserved; But for all this you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not discover your inlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary

cessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of *Poinings* Act for such Bils as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the penal Laws against Papists, by a Law will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against Conscience or Honour. Copy to *Ormond*, 17. Feb. 1944.

A true copy, *Zouche Tate*.

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26. *To the D. of R.*

Richmond, I thank you for the account you sent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but onely to remember you that my going to *Westm.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or there abouts, and that you mention the security I ask with my coming to *Westm.* And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this bearer will tell you how well our western and Northern Associations goes on, to whom I refer you for other things. I rest. This a true Copy,

Zouche Tate

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21. *To the Lord* Jermin, *Aprill*, 24. 1645. *Oxford.*

Harry,

LEst my Wife should not yet be fit for any busineſſe, I write this to you; not to excuse my pains but ease hers, and that she may know but not be trou-

bled with my kindnesse, I refer to your discretion, how far to impart my Letter to her or any other businesse, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs: And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to *Digbies* sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if he should strictly tye himselfe to certaine truthes in this kind, you must have nothing from him but my Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houses; but tell me, can you not distinguish between what we send you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an Oath the mark of distinction; and are you obliged to publish all the news we send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French Court, and certainely there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight may seem of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vaine, so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any Rebels to keep the ballance of dissention amongst us equall.

For matter of News and present state of my affairs I referre you to *Digby*, only this in generall, that if it shall please God to assist us this year but half so miraculously as he did the last (my present state compared with what it was this time twelve moneth) I am very hopefull to see a joyfull harvest before next Winter: nor do I thinke this in any humane probability possible, except my Wife can procure me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despaire, yours giving me

good

good hope, concerning *Lorrain*, and though I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an author, as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in hers the ten of *March*, says, *Iay uno Affaire, assures que vous dony nere* 40000. *Pistols que Ie vous cussi envoye si I' cussi lu mon navier revenu avec pestain.*

In the last place I will impose that upon you; that it is not reasonable to expect from my wife, which is to give me a continuall account, what Letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly, to which end take notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you: so farewel.

In your next let me know particularly how my Wife is, which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge, will hinder me to imagin her worse than she is, if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded *Digby* to write freely concerning *Will. Murry*, which I hold to be necessary as concerning *Montrosse* businesse.

To the L. Jermin, 24. *Aprill*, 1645. *concerning* France.

This is a true copy examined by *M. Corbet.*

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28. *The Queen to the King, March*, 30. 1643. *York.*

My dear heart,

I Need not tell you from whence this Bearer comes; onely I will tell you that the Propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution: therefore finde some means to send them back, wch may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice.

Sir *Hugh Cholmley* is come with a Troop of Horſe to kiſſe my hand: the reſt of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ſhip laden with arms, which the Ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, ſo ſhe is ours; the Rebels have quitted Tadcaſter upon our ſending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: We ſend more forces to drive them out, though thoſe we have already at Wetherby are ſufficient, but we fear leſt they have all their forces there-about, and leſt they have ſome deſigne; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the laſt of which they have burnt; Between this and to morrow night we ſhall know the iſſue of this buſineſs; and I will ſend you an expreſſe: I am more carefull to advertiſe you of what you do, that you and we may finde means to have paſſe-ports, to ſend: and I wonder, that upon the Ceſſation you have not demanded that you might ſend in ſafety: this ſhews my love: I underſtand to day from London, that they will have no Ceſſation, & that they treat at the beginning of the two firſt articles, which is of the forts, ſhips, & Ammunition, & afterwards of the diſbanding of the Army: Certainly, I wiſh a peace more than any, and that with greater reaſon: But I would the disbanding of the perpetuall Parliament, firſt: and certainly the reſt will be eaſily afterwards. I do not ſay this of my own head alone: for generally both thoſe who are for you and againſt you in this Countrey, wiſh an end of it, and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the firſt, in caſe it be not granted, *Hull* is ours, and all Yorkſhire, which is a thing to conſider of: and for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your Army, before there is an end to this perpetuall Parliament, I am abſolutely reſolved to go into *France*,

not

not being willing to fall againe into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in *England*; remember what I have written to you in three precedent Letters, and be more carefull of me than you have been, or at the least dissemble it, to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: the man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

York, March 30.

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29. *The Queen to the King, June* 27. 1643. *Newark.*

My Dear Heart,

I Received just now your Letter by my Lord *Savile*, who found me ready to goe away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two dayes stop, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*; young *Hotham* having been put in Prison by order of Parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260 that he would cast himself into his arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* should be rendred, he is gone to his Father, and 260 writes for your answer, so that I think I shall goe hence Friday, or Saturday, and shall go lie at *Werton*, and from thence to *Ashby*, where we will resolve what way to take, and I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before, will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the Enemy marches: all their forces of *Nottingham* at present being gone to *Leicester*, and *Darby*, which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our passage; as soon as we have resolved, I will send you word, at this present I think it fit to let you know the state in which

we march, and what I leave behind me for the safety of *Lincoln-shire* and *Nottingam-shire*: I leave 2000. Foot, and wherewithall to arm 500. more; 20. companies of horse, all this to be under *Charls Cavendish* whom the Gentlemen of the Country have desired me not to carry with me, against his will, for he desired extreamly not to go. The enemies have left within *Nottingham*, 1000. I carry with me 3000 Foot, 30 Companies of Horse and Dragoons, 6 peeces of Cannon, and two Morters, *Hary Iermin* commands the forces which go with me, as Colonell of my guard, and Sir *Alexander Lesley* the Foot under him, and *Gerard* the Horse, and *Robin Legge* the Artillery; and her she-Majesty Generalissima, and extreamly dilgent with 150. Wagons of Baggage to govern in case of battell, have a care that no Troop of *Essex* his Army incommodate us: for I hope that for the rest we shall be strong enongh, for at *Nottingham* we have had the experience, 1. of our Troops having beaten 6. of theirs, and made them fly. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extreamly disadvantagious for you, for you shew too much feare and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewell my dear heart.

The Queen to the King, 27 *Iune*, 1643.

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30. *The Queen to the King Aprill* 3. 1644.

THis Letter should have gone by a man of Master Denedsdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this Subject: and therefore by this man it signifies nothing but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you.

You

You now know by *Elliot* the issue of the businesse of *Todcaster*, since we had almost lost *Scarborough*, whilest *Cholmley* was here, *Brown Bushell* would have rendered it up to the Parliament: But *Cholmley* having had notice of it, is gone with Our Forces, and hath re-taken it; and hath desired to have a Lieutenant and Forces of Ours to put within it; for which we should take his; he hath also taken two Pinaces from *Hotham*, which brought 44 men to put within *Scarborough*, 10 peeces of Canon, 4 barrells of powder, and 4 of bullet. This is all our news: Our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfaxes* Excellency, and *I* will make an end of this Letter, this third of *Aprill*. *I* have had no news of you since *Parsons*.

A true Copy. P. W.

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31. *The Queen to the King Aprill* 21. 1644. *Bath.*

My Dear Heart,

FRed. *Cornwallis* will have told you all our voyage as farre as *Adbury*, and the state of my health: Since my coming hither, I find my self ill, as well in the ill rest that *I* have, as in the increase of my Rhume.

I hope that this days rest will do me good: *I* go to morrow to *Bristoll*, to send you back the Carts; many of them are already returned: My Lord *Dillon* told me, not directly from you, though he sayes you approve it, that it was fit *I* should write a Letter to the Commissioners of *Ireland* to this effect, That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their paper, and to assure them that

that when you shall be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that *I* dare not do it without your command; therefore if it please you that *I* should do so, send me what you would have me write, that *I* may not do more than what you appoint: And also that it being your command, you may hold to that which *I* promise: for *I* should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my Lord *Muskery* without the rest will be enough; for the Letter which I shall write to him shall be with my own hand: and if it be to all your Commissioners, it shall be by the Secretary. Farewell my dear heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely Yours.

A true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

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32. *The Queen to the King, December 6.* 1644. *Paris.*

Paris, January, I have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marlborow* of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer: I will say nothing concerning this, but onely concerning the affaire of (*Gor.*) If it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the Commissioners are arrived at *London*; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your Honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold, and if it fall out otherwise, *that*

you

You do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a Regiment of Guard, for my self, I think I cannot be, *seeing the malice which they have against me and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both*: but in my opinion, Religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat; *For if you do agree upon strictnesse against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any other Catholike Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your self.* I have dispatched an expresse into *Scotland*, to *Montrosse*, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of *Lorrain*, and into *Hol.* I lose no time; if I had more of your news all would go better. Adieu my Dear Heart.

A true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

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33. *The Queen to the King, January* 27. 1644.
PARIS.

Paris January $\frac{17}{27}$. My Dear Heare, *Tom Elliot* two dayes since hath brought me much joy, and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are: the other, the fear I have that you go to *London.* I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsell, unlesse it be to hazard your Person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambasdour of *Portugall*, dated in *January*, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall beat *Vxbridge*;

bridge; For the honour of God, trust not your self in the hands of these people; And if you ever go to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. *I understand that the Propositions for the Peace must begin by disbanding the Army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost*, they having the whole power of the *Militia*, they have done, and will do whatsoever they will. *I receeived yesterday Letters from the D. of* Lorrain, *who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men*: Dr. *Goffe*, whom I have sent into *Holland*, shall treat with him in his passage upon this businesse; , and I hope very speedily to send you good news of this, as also of the money. Assure thy self I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazard my life, that is, to dy by famine, rather then not to send to you. *S*end me word alwayes by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambassadour of *Portugall*, and the Resident of *France*. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholicks. Adieu. You will pardon me, if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it; yet my self in Cyphers shew to my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that I may know the reason why I write not to him; I know not how to send great packets.

My Wife $\frac{27}{17}$ Jan. $164\frac{3}{4}$.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

34. *The Queen to the King, March* 13. 1644.

PARIS.

Paris this 13. of *March.* My Dear Heart, since my last, I have received one of your Letters marked 16. by which you signifie the receipt of my Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little surprised me, seeming to me, that you write, as if I had something in my Letter which had displeased you; if that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I onely did believe that it was necessary you should know all. There is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my self your Dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, which is only to Lord *Iermin* to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it my self: but if it please you I will do it, and none in the World shall see them: be kind to me, or you kill me: I have already affliction enough to bear, which without you I could not do, but your service surmounts all: farewell my Dear Heart: behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest †; and I pray begin to remember what I spake concerning *Jack Barkley* for Master of the Wards; I am not ingaged, nor will not be for the places of L. *Per.* and others, do you accordingly.

13 *March* 1644.

Oxford.

Oxford. *Feb.* 1644.

35. *Memorials for Secretary* Nicholas, *concerning the Treaty at* Vxbridge.

FIrst for Religion and Church-government I will not goe one jot further then what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the *Militia* more than what ye have allowed by me, but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number, Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; yet if they, (I mean the English Rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to 20. English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performing services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but of as much profit as you will: with this last you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hide*.

This is a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

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36. *Directions for the* Vxbridge *Commissioners.*

First concerning Religion.

IN this the government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief question, wherein two things

things are to be considered, Conscience and Policy. For the first, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yeeld to the change of the Government by Bishops; not only as I fully concur with the most generall opinion of Christians in all Ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold my self particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches Patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure Sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my Coronation Oath, but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of abuses, if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender Consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second, as the Kings duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to assist the King, in the maintenance of his just Authority; wherefore my Predecessours have been alwayes carefull (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown; without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the Kings head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

After Conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a Kings quarrell; for without it the Kingly power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known Lawes of the Land: (yet because to attain to this so much wished for peace by all good men) it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and

and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon. I permit you, either by leaving strong Towns or other Military force into the Rebels possession (untill Articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of conditions, as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a Peace: provided alwayes, that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to Me: *And to make sure the Peace once setled, all things shall return into their antient Chanels.*

Thirdly for *Ireland.*

I confesse they have very specious popular Arguments to press this point, the gaining of no Article more concluding to their ends then this: And *I* have as much reason both in honour and policy to take care how to answer this as any: all the world knows the eminent inevitable necessity which caused Me to make the *Irish* Cessation, and there remain yet as strong reasons for the concluding of that peace; wherefore you must consent to nothing to hinder Me therein, untill a clear way may be shown Me, how My Protestant Subjects may probably (at least) defend themselves, and that I shall have no more need to defend My Conscience and Crown from the injuries of this Rebellion.

A true Copy.

Touche Tate.

At Vxbridge *on Wednesday the* 29 *of January*, 1644. *the* PROTESTATION *under-written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all His Majesties Commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-groanded Peace.*

I *A. B.* being one of the Commissioners assigned by his Majesty for this present Treaty at *Vxbridge*, do protest & promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveal unto any person or persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any matter or thing that shall be spoken of during the Treaty, by any one, or more of His Majesties Commissioners in any private Debate amongst our selves, concerning the said Treaty, so as to name or describe directly or indirectly the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unlesse it be by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, that it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, that this shall not binde, where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certifie His Majesty the number of Assenters or Dissenters, upon any particular result, in this Treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

This is a true copy, examined by *Zouche Tate.*

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37. *Instructions for Colonell* Cockram, *to be persued in his negotiations to the King of* Denmark.

YOu are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that by His Majesties command, as to the neereſt ally of

his Crown, his Vncle, and who he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in intereſts as affection, you are ſent to give a particular account of the ſtate of His Majeſties affairs, to renue the antient League and Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms, and Families Royall; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, ſuch as might be uſefull to the preſent Affairs of *England*, and all occurrences in the future of thoſe of *Denmark*.

That the preſent affair of your negotiation, is to demand an aſſiſtance from His Majeſty, ſuch an one as the preſent ſtate of the Affairs of *England* requires, againſt a dangerous combination of His Majeſties Subjects, who have not onely invaded His Majeſty in his particular rights, but have laid a deſign to diſſolve the Monarchy and frame of Government, under pretences of Liberty and Religion, becomming a dangerous precedent to all the Monarches of Chriſtendom to be looked upon with ſucceſſe in their deſigne.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been ſuch as hath not admitted any forraign treaty to be intereſſed in ſupreſſing their deſign, without giving them advantage of ſcandalling His Majeſties intentions, and drawing away univerſally the hearts of his people, whom they had inſinuated under pretence of Reformation of particular abuſes of Government, and Miniſters of Eſtate, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous conſequence and deſign were viſible to his Majeſty) a preſent compliance was neceſſary, leſt any publick oppoſition on his Majeſties part, that might ſeem to defeat the great expectations which they had raiſed in the Commons in thoſe plauſible particulars might have occaſioned a generall revolt, through-

out

out the Kingdoms, great jealousies being dispersed and fomented amongst them of his Majesties Forraign Treaties and Force, to be used to oppose and suppresse those their desires and the movers therein.

Vpon the credit they had herewith built on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to dissolve the Government of the Church, according to its constitution in *England*, a chief column and support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They lastly invaded His Majestie in all the Prerogatives of His Crown, and under pretence of ill Ministers and counsellours of Estate, whom they pretended to remove, indeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the nomination of all Ministers of Estate, and of His Majesties Family; withdrew all His Revenues into their own hands, and to confirm themselves in an absolute power of disposing His estate, entred upon possessing themselves of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, His Navy and Magazines, in which his Majestie being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous Tumults were raised against Him, so that He was forced to forsake *London*, for preservation of His person, His Queen and Children.

That since for the safety of the Queen He hath been forced to send her into *Holland*, to retire Himself to the best affected party of His Subjects, from whence by Declarations setting forth the sinister proceedings of that Faction, discovering their designes of innovating the Government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to Him, He hath had the advantage generally to undeceive His People, to draw to Him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction still keeping up

some interest and credit with the Commons, in the desperate estate they find themselves, begin to make head against Him, have appointed a Generall, and are levying Forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of Hostility, violence, and Rebellion.

That His Majesty having great encouragements given Him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to Him, is already advanced near them with six thousand Horse, and Ten thousand Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condescended to give Her Majesty the Queen a Convoy of the greatest part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her returne into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties upon His Majesties personal appearance, have declared for Him, so that His Affaires at home grow daily into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all his Neighbour Princes and Allies, will not look upon so dangerous a president to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a design, begun within His Kingdom.

That to give His Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to his own interest, of their successe, It hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons House long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the *Dutch*, and to set out a Fleet, to take away His Customs of the *Sound*.

That they have since imputed to His Majesty as a ground to scandal Him with His People, that he did negotiate, the introducing by his Vncle the King of *Denmark*, a forrain power, to settle His Affairs; and

under

under that pretext have given large Commission, and particular Instructions to the Fleet, to visit, search, and intercept all such *Danish* ships that they should meet, and to fight with, sink or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detain them, having any Arms or Ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the *Norway* trade driven commonly in this Kingdome, in their own bottoms: And that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the *West-Indies*, and put in by stresse of weather in the West of *England*.

That in pursuance of their great Design of extirpating the Royall Blood, and Monarchy of *England*, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon His Royall family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from His Sister, at once to cut off the interests and pretentions of the whole Race, which their most detestable witnesses, and conferring circumstances, and times, to colour their pretentions in so great a fault: and which as His sacred Majesty of *England* in the true sense of honour of his Mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union, and continued league of amity hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majesty doth desire his assistance, are, in the loan, and raising of Men, Money, Arms, and ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own affairs:

and of such in the first place as may be most requisite and are wanting to His Majesty.

That to set his levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his *Subjects* in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, 100000, li. will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly word, and solemn engagemet, upon this treaty, he is contented of such his Crown jewels as are in his disposure to leave his Royall pledge, if it shall be desired.

The particulars of arms that he desires, are 6000. Musquets, 1500. Horse-arms, and 20. pieces of Artillery mounted.

Assistance of men, he desires onely in Horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island or *Newcastle* are designed for the landing of the said horse, and Magazin of the said provisions, for reception likewise, and protection of such his ships as he shall think fit to imploy for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall trade upon these Coasts, and for ascertaining the correspondency and intelligence between the two Kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best sort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the apteſt Harbours in his Majesties, Dominions, being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road of the entrance, a ready out-let, and a strong Fort under his Majesties command.

That in lieu of this assistance contributed by the King of *Denmark*, his Majesty will oblige himselfe, and ratifie in expresse Articles to restore into the

Maga-

Magazins of *Denmarke*, a like proportion of Arms and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of Horse, and as soon as his affairs shall be setled, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all occasions to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in maintaining his Right and Title to the Customes of the *Sound*, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratifie the Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to enter into a League offensive and defensive, against intestine Rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while the negotiations and Articles may be severally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this first supply of monies, and Arms, present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

That in case the King of *Denmark* will lend money upon jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be sent to him, or delivered to his Agent here; Who may have order to pay the money here; or any other Iewels.

That there have been in discourses, severall Propositions of Accommodation made by them to the king, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reason could have been expected from him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the King of *Denmark* from his Parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his Majesties Allies, as they have done at home among His people, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to re-

main within His Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations between their Majesties, but that he be dismist and sent away so soon as ever he shall arive.

Note, this paper concerning *Cockram* was not intercepted amongst the KINGS Letters, but is otherwise attested.

His

His Majeſties Anſwer to a Pamphlet, Intituled, A Decl ration of the Commons of England *in Parliament aſſembled expreſſing their reaſons and grounds of paſſing the late reſolutions touching no further Addreſſe or Application to be made to the* KING.

Publiſhed by his Maieſties appointment.

I Believe that it was never heard of untill now, that heavy imputations were laid on any man (I ſpeake not, now, of Kings, which I confeſſe makes the caſe, yet, more ſtrange and unjuſt) and he not permitted to ſee, much leſſe to anſwer them: but ſo it is now with the KING, which does (though ſilently) yet ſubject him to as great an Imputation, as there is any in the ſaid Declaration; for thoſe who know no better, may think that he cannot, becauſe he does not, Anſwer it: Wherefore I hold it my duty (knowing theſe things better than every ordinary man) to do my beſt, that the KING ſhould not be injured, by the ignorance of his people: and albeit, I (lying under perſecution, for my Conſcience, and Love to Regall Authority) have not the means, in every thing, to make full Probations; yet, I am confident, in all the moſt material points, for to make the truth, of the KINGS innocency, appear, that I ſhall ſatisfie any impartial judicious Reader.

What the iſſue of former Addreſſes to the KING hath been, is moſt certainly known to all the World; but where the Fault reſt, whereby peace hath not enſued, bare Aſſeverations, without prooſs, cannot I am ſure, ſatisfie any Iudicious Reader. And indeed, it ſeems to me, that the Penner of this,

ſeeks

seeks more to take the ears of the ignorant multitude, with big words, and bold Assertions, than to satisfie rationall men with reall proofs or true arguments. For, at the very first he begs the Question; taking it for granted, that the KING could ease the *sighs* and *groans*, dry the *teares*, and stanch the *blood* of his distressed Subjects: Alas! is it he that keeps Armies on Foot, when there is none to oppose? Is it he, that will not lay down Excise, Taxations, and Free-Quarterings? But, it is he indeed, who was so far from power, even at that time, (being far worse since) that, in most things, he wanted the liberty of any free born man: It is he, who never refused to ease his people of their grievances; witness more Acts of grace passed in his reign than (to speak within my compass) in any five kings or Queens times) that ever were before him: moreover, It is he, who, to settle the present unhappy distractions, and (as the best means to it) to obtain a personal Treaty, hath offered so much, that (to say truth) during His owne time, he hath left Himselfe little more than the title of a KING; as it plainly appears by His Message from the Isle of *Weight*, concerning the *Militia*, and chooſing the Officers of State, and Privy Counsellors; besides other points of complyance which it is needlesse here to mention:

Good God! are these *Officers unfit for them to receive*? Have they *tendred such propositions, that might occasion the World to judge that they have yeelded up, not only their Wils and affections, but their reasons also, and judgements for obtaining a true peace or good accommodation*? It is true, that if they can shew, what, reasonably they could have asked more; or, wherein the KINGS offers were deficient (either in point of security, or by with-holding from any of his

his Subjects a jot of their juſt privileges) than, they ſaid ſomewhat, to challenge belief: But, bare Aſſeverations even againſt what a man ſees, will not get credit with any, but ſuch who abandon their judgments to an implicit faith: Nor can the determinations of all the Parliaments in the world make a thing juſt or neceſſary, if it be not ſo of it ſelf: And can it be imagined, that any, who were ever acquainted with the paſſages at the Treaties of *Oxford* and *Vxbridge*, will believe (though it be ſaid) that *the propoſitions tendred at* Newcaſtle, *were the ſame in effect which had been preſented to the King before in the midſt of all his ſtrength and Forces*? Indeed me thinks ſuch groſſe ſlips as theſe, ſhould at leaſt, make a man be wary, how to believe ſuch things, for which he ſees no proofs: and yet it ſhould ſeem, that a man muſt either take their words, for good payment, or remain unſatisfied; for a little after it is ſaid, that *the Kings ſtrange, unexpected, and conditionall anſwers or Denials might juſtly have made them conſider ſome other courſe for ſetling the Kingdom in peace and ſafety without any further application*: but never ſhew, wherein the ſtrangeneſſe of his anſwers or Denyalls conſiſts: and I ſhould think, that thoſe reaſons, upon which the laying by of a kings authority is grounded (for it is no leſſe) ought to be particularly mentioned, for the worlds ſatisfaction, and not involved in generall big words: for it thereby ſeems, that it is their force of arms, more than that of Reaſon, which they truſt to, for procuring of obedience to their Determinations, or belief to what they ſay: Otherwayes, can it be imagined, that their ſaying, that *their laſt Propoſitions were to be qualified, that (where it might ſtand with the publick ſafety) the wonted Scruples or objections were prevented or removed*, can give ſatisfaction to any

any rationall man, who hath seen all their former propositions? For, it is most evident, that their demands have alwayes encreased with their good fortune.

And for their great Condiscention to a *Personall Treaty* (which under favour, can scarcely be called so; for the KING though he had granted what was desired, was not to come, neither to nor near *London*, but to stay in the Isle of *Wight*, and there to treat with Commissioners) upon signing the four Bils; Surely they incurred therein, but little danger; for it is most evident, that they contain the very Substance of the most essentiall parts of their demands; which being once granted, the KING would neither have had power to deny, nor any thing left worth the refusing; for after he had confessed, that he had taken up Arms, to invade the Liberty of his people, (whereas it was only for the defence of his owne Rights) and had Likewise condemned all those, who had faithfully served him, of Rebellion; and that he had totally divested himself, his Heirs, and Successours for ever, of the power of the Sword; whereby the protection of his Subjects (which is one of the most essentiall and necessary Rights belonging to Regall Authority) is totally torn away from the Crown: and that by a silent Confession, He had done himself and Successors, an irreparable prejudice concerning the great Seale (I speak not of the other two Bills, neither of which are of little importance) what was there more for him to grant (worth the insisting upon) after such Concessions? or, indeed, what power was left him to deny any thing? So that the KINGS necessity of giving the Answer he did (for it was no absolute refusall) is most evident;

evident ; unleſſe, Hee had reſolved to have lived in quiet, without houour ; and to have given his people peace, without ſafety ; by abandoning them to an arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houſes, for ever, concerning the Levying of Land or Sea Forces, without ſtinting of Numbers, or diſtinction of perſons ; and for payments, to leavy ſuch ſums of monies in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and means, as they ſhall think fit and appoint. And now I cannot but aske ; is this the Militia that the KING contends for ? or, did ever any King of *England* pretend to, or ſeek for ſuch a power ? ſurely no : But, this is a new *Militia*, and take heed, leſt this ſhould prove like the Roman *Prætorian Cohorts*, that what they did in chooſing and changing Emperours, theſe do not to this Government, by moulding and altering it according to their fancies. Now, my eagerneſſe to clear this point concerning the four Bills, had almoſt made me forget a moſt material Queſtion : I wonder much wherein the danger conſiſts of a perſonal Treaty with the KING, ever ſince he was laſt at *Newcaſtle* ? Surely he cannot bring Forces along with him, to awe his two Houſes of Parliament : and it is well known that he hath not Money to raiſe an Army : and truly, there is as little feare, that the eloquence of his Tongue ſhould work Miracles ; but on the contrary, if he were ſo ill a man, as you deſcribe him to be, whatſoever he ſhall ſay or write, muſt more prejudice him than you : for let him never flatter himſelf, it muſt be clear, not doubtfull, Reaſon, that can prevaile againſt that great viſible prevailing power, which now oppoſſes him : nor do I ſay, it will ; but certainly leſſe can do it : Where is then the *Danger* ! Believe it Reaſon will hardly maintaine thoſe who are afraid of her.

After

After this, it is said, That *they had cause enough to remember, that the KING sometimes denyed to receive their humble Petitions* : but, they never tell, where, nor when, which, I am most confident, they cannot : but I am certain, that the KING hath sent divers Messages of peace to them, unto which, he hath yet had no answer ; namely, his last from *Oxford* of the 15. of *January* 1645. and all the rest since. As for the fight at *Brainford*, whosoever will read the Collection of the Declarations in print, upon that subject, will clearly find, that the KING hath more reason to complaine, that they under colour of treaty, sought to environ him with their Forces ; than they, for what he then did ; and his Retreat was neither for Fear, nor with Shame ; for the appearing of the Enemy made him retard, not hasten his Orders for retiring, which divers hours (before their appearing) he had given : which he did without any losse at all but (on the contrary) retreated with more Armes, eleven colours, and fifteen peeces of Ordnance (beside good store of ammunition) than he had before : and for Cruelty, there was not a drop of blood shed, but in the heat of the fight, for I saw above five hundred prisoners, who (only promised *never after to bear Armes against the* KING) were freely released.

Againe, they seem to have good memories, saying, *That the king once sent them a specious Message of renewing a Treaty, when at the same time, his Messenger was instructed how to mannage that bloody massacre in* Lnodon, *which was than designed by vertue of the kings Commission, since published.* And hath the King sent but one Message for the renewing of a Treaty? then what was that from *Tavestock* in August 1644. and five others from *Oxford* the next year? But indeed this

this that is here mentioned, they knew not how to anſwer (for at that time, they knew not the way of ſilence) but by this forged accuſation againſt the Meſſenger, who, I dare ſay, knew nothing of that, which might have been (at that time) intended for the Kings ſervice, by ſome who had more zeal than judgment; But, that there was a *Maſſacre* intended, or, that any *Commiſſion* from the king, ſhould countenance ſuch a deſign, is a moſt notorious ſlander. As for the kings mentioned Letter to the Queen; I am confident that any judicious Reader, will find the Gloſſe made upon it, very much wreſted; And certainly after ages will think theſe times very Barbarous, wherein private Letters betwixt man and wife are publiſhed to open view: And in other Countries, there is ſuch reſpect carried to private Letters of Princes, that (to my knowledge) the laſt Emperour in the greateſt heat of the *Bohemian* war, having intercepted a packet, wherein were private Letters to King *Iames* of bleſſed memory (who was then known no great friend to the Emperour) from his only Daughter, then avowedly the Emperours greateſt enemy, yet he ſent them to the king, without the leaſt offer of violence to the ſeals.

And now I come to their determination upon the whole matter, what courſe they have reſolved to take with the King? their words are, *But notwithſtanding this and other former tenders, we have now received ſuch a Deniall, that we are in deſpaire of any good by addreſſes to the King; neither muſt we be ſo injurious to the people in further delaying their ſettlement, as any more to preſſe his conſent to theſe, or any other propoſitions:* Beſides, it is reſolved upon the Queſtion, *that they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King*; and do enjoyn, *that no perſons preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either*

Houſes

Houses of Parliament, or any other person. Thus you see, that the King is laid by; But that is not all; for, he must neither justifie his innocency against Calumny, nor is there any way left him to mend any errour, that he may have committed: is this a just way of proceeding? when truth, though offered must not be heard; and that no way must be left to recant an errour? And why all this severity? Because (as I have already shown you) the King will not injure his conscience or honour, nor suffer his people to be oppressed; to which they give the tearm of such a *Denyal*, though really it was none. But since they thus seek to hoodwink the people, it is no great wonder, that they forbid the King to repent him of those faults, which he never committed: and I believe all indifferent men, will easily judge of the Kings innocency, even by their way of accusation: For those who will lay such high crimes to his charge, as the *breach of Oathes, Vows, Protestations*, and *Imprecations*, would not spare to bring their proofs if they had any: But on the contrary, it is known to all the World, that he had not suffered as he has done, if he would have dispensed with that part of his *Coronation Oath*, which he made to the Clergy; which is no great signe that he makes slight of his engagements, of which it is so universally known, that he has been so religiously carefull, as I hold it a wrong to his Innocency, to seek to cleer him of such slanders, for which there are no proofs alleged: for, Malice being once detected, is best answered with Neglect and *Silence*. And was there ever greater, or more apparent Malice, than to offer to put the horrid slander of Paricide upon him, who was eminently known to be as obedient and loving a *Son* to his blessed Father, as any History can make mention of?

But

But indeed the loſſe of *Rochel* doth fitly follow; to ſhew, how Malice when it is at the height, is ordinarly accompained; for there are none but ignorant or forgetfull men, who know not that it was merely the want of aſſiſtance, from the two Houſes of Parliament ((contray to their publick generall Engagement) that loſt *Rochell*; and there is nothing more clear (to any who hath known French Occurrences) than, that reall aſſiſtance, which the KING to the uttermoſt of his power, gave to thoſe of the Religion at that time, made the Cardinal of *Richelieu* an irreconcileable enemy to the king; wherefore I cannot but ſay, that it is a ſtrange forgetfull boldneſs to charge the king with that which was evidently other mens faults.

There are alſo other things, that, to any knowing man, will rather ſeem jeers, than Accuſations; as the *German Horſe* and *Spaniſh Fleet in the Year* 1639. But my affection ſhall not ſo blind me, as to ſay, that the KING never erred; yet, as when a juſt Debt is paid, Bonds ought to be cancelled: ſo Grievances be they never ſo juſt being once redreſſed, ought no more to be objected as Errors. And it is no Paradox, to affirm, that truths, this way told, are no better than Slanders; and ſuch are the Catalogue of Grievances here enumerated; which, when they are well examined, every one of them, will not be found ſuch as here they are deſcribed to be.

Now as concerning thoſe Diſcourſes which mention the beginnings of theſe troubles, (which are in two ſeverall places of this Declaration) I will onely ſay this; that what the KING did upon thoſe occaſions, wes meerly to defend the

Rights of his Crowne, which were and are evidently sought to be torne from him; nor can I acknowledge all those Relations to be true, such as *private Levies* of men, *by popish Agents, Arming of Papists in the North, calling in of Danish Forces*, and the like: And as for the stale slander of *calling up the Northern Army*, now renewed, it is well known, that the two Houses (even at that time) were not so partiall to the KING, as to have concealed a practice of that kind, if they could have got it sufficiently proved.

But, if the *Irish Rebellion* can be justly charged upon the KING, then I shall not blame any for believing all the rest of the Allegations against him; onely I protest against all Rebels Testimony, as good proof; it being most certain by experience, that they, who make no conscience of Rebelling, will make lesse of Lying, when it is for their advantage. And, it is no little wonder, that so grave an assembly as the House of *Commons*, should so sleightly examine a businesse of that great Weight, as to alledge, that the *Scots* Great Seal did countenance the Irish Rebellion, when I know it can be proved, by witnesses without exception, that, for many months before, untill the now Lord Chancellour had the keeping of it, there was nothing at all sealed by it: Nor concerning this great point will I only say, that the King is innocent, and bid them prove, (which, to most accusations, is a sufficient answer,) but I can prove that if the KING had been obeyed in the *Irish* affaires before he went last into *Scotland*, there had been no *Irish Rebellion*; and after it was begun, it had in few months been suppressed, if his Directions had been observed; For if the KING had

had beene suffered to have performed his Engagements to the *Irish Agents*, and had disposed of the discontented *Irish Army*, beyond Sea (according to his contracts with the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadours) there is nothing more clear, than that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*; because, they had wanted both pretence and meanes to have made one: Then, when it was broken forth, if those vigorous courses had been pursued, which the KING proposed, (first to the *Scots*, then to the *English* Parliament) doubtlesse that Rebellion had been soon suppressed. But what he proposed took so little effect, that in many months after, there was nothing sent into *Ireland*, but what the KING himself sent (assisted by the Duke of *Richmond*) before he came from *Scotland*, unto Sir *Robert Steward*; which though it were little, will be found to have done much service, as may be seen by the said Sir *Roberts* voluntary Testimony, given in writing to the Parliament Commissioners then attending the KING at *Stoak*. And certainly, a greater evidence for constancy in Religion there cannot be, than the KING shewed in his *Irish Treaty*; for, in the time that he most needed assistance, it was in his power to have made that Kingdom declare unanimously for him, and have had the whole Forces therof imployed in his Service, if he would have granted their demand in points of Religion, they not insisting in any thing of Civill government, which his Majesty might not have granted, without prejudice to Regall authority; and this can be clearly proved, by the Marquesse of *Ormonds* Treaties with the *Irish*, not without very good evidence by some of the KINGS Letters to the QUEEN,

which were taken at *Naseby*, that are purposely concealed, lest they should too plainly discover the KINGS detestation of that Rebellion, and his rigid firmnesse to the Protestent profession: Nor can I end this point, without Remarking with wonder, that men should have so ill memories, as again to renew that old slander, of the *Kings givings Passes to divers Papists, and persons of quality, who headed the Rebels*; of which he so cleared himselfe, that he demanded reparation for it, but could not have it, albeit no shew of proof could be produced for that allegation: as is most plainly to be seen in the first book of the Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, &c. fol. 69. and 70.

Thus having given a particular Answer to the most Material points in this Declaration, the rest are such frivolous, malicious, and many of them groundlesse calumnies, that Contempt in the best Answer for them. Yet, one thing more, I must observe, that they not onely endeavour to make Fables passe for currant coin, but likewise seek to blind mens judgments, with false inferences upon some truths; for example: It is true, that *the KING hath said in some of his Speeches or Declarations, that he oweth an account of his actions to none but God alone; and that the Houses of Parliament joynt or separate have no power either to make or declare any Law*; But, that this is *a fit foundation for all Tyranny*, I must utterly deny: indeed, if it had been said, that *the KING, without the 2 Houses of Parliament, could make or declare Laws*, then there might be some strength in the Argument; but, before this Parliament, it was never so much as pretended that either one or both houses, with-

without the King, could make or declare any Law, and certainly his Majeſty is not the firſt (and I hope will not be the laſt) King of *England*, that hath not held himſelfe accountable to any Earthly power; beſides it will be found, that this his Majeſties poſition is moſt agreeable to all Divine and Humane Laws; ſo far it is from being *Deſtructive to a Kingdom*, or *a foundation for Tyranny*. To conclude, I appeale to God, and the World, whether it can be paralleld by example, or warranted by Juſtice, that any man ſhould be ſlandred, yet denied the ſight thereof; and ſo far from being permitted to anſwer, that if he have erred, there is no way left him to acknowledge or mend it; and yet this is the KINGS preſent condition; who is, at this time laid aſide, becauſe he will not conſent that the old Fundamentall Laws of this Land be changed, Regal power deſtroyed, nor, his people ſubmitted to a new Arbitrary Tyrannicall Goverment.

THE PAPERS

Which passed betwixt

His MAJESTIE

AND

Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, at *Newastle*, concerning the Change of

CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

Anno Dom. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderſon.*

His MAJESTIES *firſt Paper.*

Mr. *Henderſon*,

I Know very well what a great diſadvantage it is for Me, to maintaine an Argument of Divinity with ſo able and learned a Man as your ſelf, it being your, not My profeſſion; which really was the cauſe that made Me deſire to hear ſome learned man argue my Opinion with you, of whoſe abilities I might be confident, that I ſhould not be led into an Errour, for want of having all which could be ſaid, layed open unto me: For indeed, My humour is ſuch, that I am ſtill partiall for that ſide, which I imagine ſuffers for the weakneſſe of thoſe that maintain it; alwayes thinking that equall Champions would caſt the ballance on the other part. Yet ſince that you (thinking that it will ſave time) deſire to go another way, I ſhall not conteſt with you in it, but treating you as my Phyſitian, give you leave to take your own way of cure; onely I thought fit to warn you, leſt if you, (not I) ſhould be miſtaken in this, you would be faine (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know, that from my Infancy I was bleſt with the King my fathers love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluable happineſſe to me, all his daies, and among all his cares for my education,

tion, his chief was, to settle me right in Religion; in the true Knowledge of which, he made himself so eminent to all the World, that I am sure, none can call in question the brightness of his Fame in that particular, without shewing their own ignorant base malice: He it was, who laid in me the grounds of Christianity, which to this day I have been constant in; so that whether the worthinesse of my Instructor be considered, or the not few years that I have been setled in my Principles; it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easie work, to make me alter them: and the rather, that hitherto, I have (according to Saint *Paul's* rule, *Rom.* 14. 22.) been happy in *Not condemning my self, in that thing which I allow:* Thus having shewed you how, it remains, to tell you what, I believe, in relation to these present miserable distractions.

No one thing made Me more reverence the Reformation of my Mother, the Church of *England*, than that it was done (according to the *Apostles* defence, *Act* 24.18.) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by those, whom I conceive to have the reforming power; which with many other inducements, made me alwayes confident that the work was very perfect, as to Essentials; of which number *Church-Government* being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if there had been cause; which opinion of mine was soon turned into more than a cõfidence, when I perceived that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing, but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be the constant universall custome of the Primitive Church;

Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, we should deprive our selves of a lawfull Priesthood, and then, how the Sacraments can be duly administred, is easie to judge: These are the principall Reasons, which make me believe that Bishops are necessary for a Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give my consent for their expulsion out of *England*; but I have another obligation, that to my particular, is a no less tie of Conscience, which is, my *Coronation Oath*: Now if (as S. *Paul* saith, *Rom.* 14. 23.) *He that doubteth is damned if he eat*, what can I expect, if I should, not onely give way knowingly to my Peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured my self?

Now consider, ought I not to *keep my self from presumptuous sinnes?* and you know who sayes, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul?* Wherefore my constant maintenance of *Episcopacy* in *England*, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdom) methinks, should be rather commended then wondred at; my Conscience directing me to maintain the Laws of the Land; which being only my endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, *what warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conscience? or to make him alter Lawes against his will?* If this be not my present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or, if my Judgment in Religion hath been misled at this time, I shall be willing to be better directed: till when, you must excuse me, to be constant to the Grounds which the *King my Father* taught me.

Newcastle, May 29. 1646. *C. R.*

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Newcastle, May 29. 1646. *C. R.*

For

For His Majestie.

Mr. *Alexander Henderson's* first Paper.

SIR,

1. *IT is Your Majesties royall goodness, and not my merit, that hath made your Majesty to conceive any opinion of my abilities; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimony from your Majesty) ought in all duty to be improved for your Majesties satisfaction. And this I intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modest expression of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the dislike of Episcopall Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the University. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majesties purpose to have the Question disputed by Divines on both sides; which I would never (to the wronging of the Cause) have undertaken alone; and which seldome or never hath proved an effectual way for finding of truth, or moving the minds of men to relinquish their former Tenents,* Dum res transit à judicio in affectum; *witness the Polemicks between the Papists and us, and among our selves, about the matter now in hand, these many years past.*

2. *Sir,*

2. *SIR, when I conſider your Majeſties educa-on under the hand of ſuch a Father, the length of time wherein Your Majeſty hath been ſetled in your principles of Church-Government; the Arguments which have continually in private and publique, eſpecially of late at* Oxford, *filled your Majeſties ears for the Divine Right thereof; your Coronation Oath, and divers State-reaſons which your Majeſty doth not mention: I doe not wonder, nor think it any ſtrange thing, that your Majeſtie hath not at firſt given place to a contrary impreſſion. I remember that the famous* Johannes Picus Mirandula *proveth by irrefragable Reaſons (which no rationall man will contradict)* That no man hath ſo much power over his own underſtanding, as to make himſelf believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reaſon telleth him is falſe; much leſs is it poſſible for any man to have his Reaſon commanded by the will, or at the pleaſure of another.

3. *It is a true ſaying of the School-men,* Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quoad ſpecificationem, *Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter, but no will or command can conſtrain me to determine otherwiſe then my reaſon teacheth me. Yet* Sir, *I hope your Majeſtie will acknowledge (for Your Paper profeſſeth no leſſe) that according to the ſaying of* Ambroſe, Non eſt pudor ad meliora tranſire, *It is neither ſinne nor ſhame to change to the better: Symmachus in one of his Epiſtles (I thinke to the Emperour* Theodoſius *and* Valentinian) *alleageth all thoſe motives, from education, from preſcription of time, from worldly proſperity, and the flouriſh-*

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ing condition of the Roman Empire, and from the Lawes of the Land, to perswade them to constancy in the ancient Pagan profession of the Romans, against the imbracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the Jewes for Moses against Christ; and may be used both for Popery and for the Papacy it selfe, against the reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more strength against the Change now, than they had in former times.

3. But your Majesty may perhaps say, That this is petitio principii, and nothing else but the begging of the Question; and I confesse it were so, if there can be no Reasons brought for a Reformation or Change; Your Majesty reverences the Reformation of the Church of England, as being done legally and orderly, and by those who had the Reforming Power: and I doe not deny, but it were to be wisht that Religion where there is need, were alwaies Reformed in that manner, and by such power, and that it were not committed to the Prelats, who have greatest need to be reformed themselves, not left to the multitude, whom God stirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did Jacob reforme his own Family, Moses destroyed the golden Calfe, the good Kings of Judah reformed the Church in their time: but that such Reformation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. Asa tooke away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect; for Jehosaphat removed the high Places, yet was not his Reformation perfect, for it was Hezekiah that brake the brasen Serpent, and Josiah destroyed the Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this Elogie, That like unto him there was no King before him. It is too well known that the Reformation of K. Henry 8. was most imper-

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fect in the Essentials of Doctrine, Worship, and Government; And although it proceeded by some degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the head was changed, Dominus non Dominum; and the whole limbs of the Antichristian Hierarchy retained, upon what snares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchanters of the Clergy, I need not express. It was a hard saying of Romanorum Malleus, Grosted of Lincolne, That Reformation was not to be expected, nisi in ore gladii cruentandi, yet this I may say, that the Laodicean lukewarmness of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the Godly in his Kingdom; occasion of more schisme and separation then ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unspeakable grief and sorrow to other Churches, which God did bless with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reserved for your Majesty, that to your comfort and everlasting fame, the praise of godly Josiah may be made yours, which yet will be no dispraise to your royall Father, or Edward 6. or any other Religious Princes before you; none of them having so fair an opportunity as is now by the supreme providence put into your Royal hands. My soul trembleth to think and to foresee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither use the words of Mordecai, Esth. 4. 14. nor what Savanarola told another Charls, because I hope better things from your Majestie.

4. To the Argument brought by Your Majesty (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they been all about you, could more briefly and yet so fully and strongly have expressed) [That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from

from the Apoſtles to the conſtant univerſall practiſe of the Primitive Church; and that it was of ſuch conſequence, as by the alteration of it, We ſhould deprive our ſelves of the lawfulneſſe of Prieſthood (*I thinke your Majeſty meanes a lawfull Miniſtry*) and then how the Sacraments can be adminiſtred, is eaſie to judge.] *I humbly offer theſe conſiderations: Firſt, what was not in the times of the Apoſtles, cannot be deduced from them: We ſay in* Scotland, *It cannot be brought But, that is not the Ben; but (not to inſiſt now in a Liturgy,* 111. *and things of that kind) there was to ſuch Hierarchy, no ſuch difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter, in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as cleare as if it were written with a Sun-beame, that Presbyter and Biſhop are to the Apoſtles one and the ſame thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apoſtles intending to ſet down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and ſpeaking ſo often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occaſion, but of ſet purpoſe; do neither expreſſe nor imply any ſuch Paſtor or Biſhop as hath power over other Paſtors, although it be true, that they have diſtinctly and particularly expreſt the office, gifts, and duties of the meaneſt Officers, ſuch as Deacons. 3. That in the Miniſtery of the New Teſtament there is a comely, beautifull, and divine order and ſubordination; one kind of Miniſters both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and dignity one before another, as the Apoſtles firſt, the Evangeliſts, Paſtors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot find in Offices of the ſame Kind, that one hath*

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majority of power, or priority of degree before another; no Apostle above other Apostles (unlesse in morall respects) no Evangelist above other Evangelists; of Deacon above other Deacons; why then a Pastor above other Pastors? In all other sorts of Ministers ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kind, only in the office of Pastor an inequality. 4. *That the whole power and all the parts of the Ministry, which are commonly called,* The power of Order and Jurisdiction, *are by the Apostles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop: And that,* Mat. 15. 16. 17. *the gradation in matter of Discipline or Church censures, is from one, to two, or more; and if he shall neglect them, tell it to the Church; he saith not, tell it to the Bishop: there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never so eminent. If these considerations doe not satisfie, your Majesty may have more, or the same further cleared.*

5. *Secondly, I doe humbly desire Your Majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the practice of the Primitive Church, and the universall Consent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papists for such traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Testimony must be the Rule. We can have no certaine knowledge of the practice universall of the Church for many years;* Eusebius *the prime Historian confesseth so much: the learned* Josephus Scaliger *testifieth, That from the end of the* Acts *of the* Apostles *untill a good time after, no certainty can be had from Ecclesiasticall Authors about Church matters. It is true,* Diotrephes *sought the preheminence in the Apostles times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt*

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in after times ſome puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weakneſſe, endevoured alteration of Church-Government, but that all the learned and godly of theſe times conſented to ſuch a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that Your Majeſty will deny the lawfulneſſe of a Miniſtery, and the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Dioceſan Biſhops, ſith it is not only manifeſt by Scripture, but a great many of the ſtrongeſt Champions for Epiſcopacy, doe confeſſe, that Presbyters may ordaine other Presbyters; and that Baptiſme adminiſtred by a private Perſon, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter, although not ordained by a Biſhop, are not one and the ſame thing.

n. 7. Concerning the other Argument taken from Your Majeſties Coronation Oath; I confeſſe, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (ſo ſacred a thing is it, and ſo high a point of Religion) much tenderneſſe is required: and farre be it from us, who deſire to obſerve our owne Solemne Oath, to preſſe Your Majeſty with the violation of Yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleneſſe and ſincerity to lay before Your Majeſties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger diſcourſe) that although no humane authority can diſpenſe with an Oath, Quia Religio juramenti

m. pertinet ad forum Divinum; yet in ſome caſes it cannot be denied but the obligation of an Oath ceaſeth: As when we ſwear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaſeth to be our Lord and Superiour; for then the formall cauſe

cause of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the obligation, Sublata causa tollitur effectus; sublato relato, tollitur Correlatum. *Or when any Oath hath a speciall reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the obligation ceaseth; because all such Oaths from the nature of the thing, doe include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, Your Majesties Oath doth not binde you, or your Conscience to the observing of it; otherwise no Lawes could be altered by the Legislative Power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Episcopall Government in* Scotland, *and of removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of* England. *And I assure my selfe, that your Majesty did not intend at the taking of your Oath, that although both Houses of Parliament should find an alteration necessary, although (which God Almighty avert) you should lose your selfe, and your Posterity, and Crowne, that you would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If your Majesty still object,* that the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutable; *that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.*

8. *I have but one word more concerning your Piety to your Royall Father, and teacher of happy Memory, with which your Majesty does conclude.* m. *Your Majesty knows that King* James *never admitted* Episcopacy *upon Divine Right; That His Majesty did sweare and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church of* Scotland; *that in the Preface of the latter Edition of* Basilicon Doron, *His Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better*

the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, than the pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of England, *and that he conceived the Prelats to ſavour of the Popiſh Hierarchy, and that (could his Ghoſt now ſpeake to your Majeſty) he would not adviſe your Majeſty to run ſuch hazards for thoſe men who will chuſe rather to pull down your Throne with their own ruine, than that they periſh alone. The Lord give your Majeſty a wiſe and diſcerning Spirit to chuſe that in time which is right.*

June 3. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderſon,*

A Reply to his Anſwer to my firſt Paper, *June 6. 1646,*

His MAJESTIES ſecond Paper.

Mr. *Henderſon,*

IF it had been thé Honour of the Cauſe which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pén to Paper, or ſingly to have maintained this Argument againſt you (whoſe Anſwér to my former Paper is ſufficient, without further proofs, to juſtifie my opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for my particular ſatisfaction, I aſſure you that a Diſputation of well choſen Divines, would be moſt effectuall; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I muſt beſt know, how my ſelf may be beſt ſatisfied, for certainly

certainly my Taste cannot be guided by another mans Palate, and indeed I will say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either *Persons* or *Books* to cleare the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give me satisfaction: The fore-seeing of which, made me at first (for the saving of time) desire that some of those Divines, which I gave you in a List, might be sent for.

2. Concerning your second *Section*, I were much too blame, if I should not submit to that saying of S. *Ambrose* which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found lesse ingenuous than you shew your selfe to be in the former part of it; wherefore my Reply is, that as I shall not be ashamed *to change for the better*, so I must see that it is *better* before I *change*, otherwise inconstancy in this were both sin and shame; and remember (what your selfe hath learnedly enforced) that *no mans Reason can be commanded by another mans Will.*

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on, with that Ingenuity, which the other did; for I doe not understand, how those *Examples* cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of *Reformation*, which I commend, hath not been the most perfect, or, that any other is lawfull, those having been all by the *Regall Authority*; and because *Henry the Eights Reformation* was not perfect, will it prove that of K. *Edward* and Q. *Elizabeth* to be unperfect? I believe a new *moode* and *figure* must be found out to forme a *Syllogisme*, whereby to prove that: but however, you are mistaken; for, no man who truely understands the *English Re-*

formation, will derive it from *Henry the Eight*, for he onely gave the occasion; it was his *Son* who began, and Q. *Elizabeth* that perfected it; nor did I ever averre, that the beginning of any Humane Action was perfect, no more then you can prove that *God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reforme the Negligence of Princes*: For, you know, there is much Difference between *Permission*, and *Approbation*: But all this time, I find no *Reasons* (according to your promise) for a *Reformation*, or *change* (I mean since Q. *Elizabeths* time.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus* his saying; it is well you come off it, with [*yet this I may say*] for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justifie that *bloudy ungodly saying*: and for your comparing our *Reformation* here to the *Laodicean lukewarmnesse*, proved by *Complaints*, *Grievings*, *&c.* all that doth, and but unhandsomely, *Petere principium*; nor can Generalls satisfie me; for, you must first prove, that those men had reason to complaine, those Churches to be Grieved, and how we were truely the Causers of this schisme and separation: as for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of my two maine Arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince me; It is I must make good the *Affirmative*, for I believe a *Negative* cannot be proved; Instead of which, if you had made appear the *practice* of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive times*, you had done much; for I doe averre that this *Government* was never Practised before *Calvin's time*; the *affirmative* of which, I leave you to prove;

prove; my taske, being to shew the *lawfullnesse*, and *succession of Episcopacy*, and, as I believe, the *necessity* of it: For doing whereof, I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusall, may, one way or other, give me satisfaction; but I cannot absolutely promise it without the assistance of some learned man, whom I can trust, to find out all such Citations, as I have use of: wherefore blame me not, if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the *fallaciousnesse* of my *Argument* (to my knowledge) it was never my *practice*, nor do I confesse to have begun now; For, if the *Practice* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent of the Fathers*, be not a convincing Argument, when the *interpretation* of *Scripture* is doubtfull, I know nothing; For, if this be not, then of *necessity* the *Interpretation of private Spirits* must be admitted: the which contradicts Saint *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. is the *Mother* of all *Sects*, and will (if not prevented) bring these Kingdomes into confusion: and to say, that an Argument is ill, because the *Papists* use it, or, that such a thing is good, because it is the Custome of *some* of the *Reformed Churches*; cannot weigh with me, untill you prove, these to be *infallible*, or that to maintaine *no Truth*: And how *Diotrephes* ambition (who directly opposed the *Apostle* S. *John*) can be an Argument against *Episcopacy*, I doe not understand.

6. When I am made a *Judge* over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I censure their *Actions*; as you must prove, before I confesse it, that *Presbyters without a Bishop, may lawfully ordain other Presbyters*: And as for the

Administration of *Baptisme*, as I thinke none will say, that a Woman can lawfully, or Duely administer it, though when done, it be *valid*; so none ought to do it, but a lawfull *Presbyter*, whom you cannot deny, but to be absolutely necessary for the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of *Oathes* in generall, and their severall *Obligations*, to which I fully agree; intending, in the particular now in question, to be guided by your own *Rule*, which is [*when any Oath hath a speciall reference to the Benefit of those to whom I make the Promise, if we have their desire, or consent, the Obligation*
n. *ceaseth*] Now, it must be known, *to whom* this Oath hath reference, and to *whose benefit?* the Answer is cleare, onely to the *Church of England*; as by the *Record* will be plainly made appeare;
m. and you much mistake in alleaging, that the two *Houses of Parliament* (especially as they are now constituted) can have this *Disobligatory Power*, for, (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appeare to you, that this *Church* never did submit, nor was subordinate
m. to them; and that it was onely the *King and Clergy*, who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* meerly serving to help to give the *Civill Sanction*: all this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is onely the *Church of England* (in whose favour I took this Oath) that can release me from it: wherefore when the *Church of England* (being lawfully Assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem my self so.

8. To your last, concerning the *King my Father*, of happy and famous Memory, both for his

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Piety and *Learning*; I must tell you, that I had the happinesse, to know him much better then you; wherefore I desire you, not to be too confident, in the knowledge of his Opinions; for, I dare say, should his *Ghost now speake*, he would tell you, *that a bloudy Reformation was never lawfull, as not warranted by Gods word*, and that *Preces & lacrymæ sunt Arma Ecclesiæ*.

9. To conclude, having replied to all your Paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given me no Answer to my last *Quære*; it may be you are (as *Chaucer* sayes) like the People of *England, what they not like, they never understand*: but in earnest, that *Question* is so pertinent to the Purpose in hand, that it will much serve for my satisfaction; and besides it may be usefull for other things.

C. R.

Newcastle, June 6. 1646.

For His Majestie.

Mr. *Alexander Henderson's* second Paper.

SIR,

THe smaller the encouragements be, in relation to the successe, (which how small they are, your Majesty well knowes:) the more apparent, and, I hope, the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majesties

Majeſties command: yet while I conſider, that the way of man is not in himſelfe, nor is it in man that walketh, to direct his own ſteps; and when I remember how many ſupplications, with ſtrong crying and tears, have been openly and in ſecret offered up in your Majeſtiei behalfe, unto God that heareth prayer, I have do reaſon to deſpaire of a bleſſed ſucceſſe.

1. *I have been averſe, from a diſputation of Divines,* 1. *For ſaving of time; which the preſent exigence and extremity of affairs, make more then ordinarily pretious; While* Archimedes *at* Syracuſe *was drawing his figures and circlings in the ſand,* Marcellus *interupted his demonſtration.* 2. *Becauſe the common reſult of Diſputes of this kind, anſwerable to the prejudicate opinions of the Parties, is rather Victory then Verity; while* tanquam tentativi Dialectici, *they ſtudy more to overcome their adverſe Party, than to be overcome of truth, although this be the moſt glorious Victory.* 3. *When I was commanded to come hither, no ſuch thing was propoſed to me, nor expected by me. I never judged ſo meanly of the cauſe, nor ſo highly of my ſelfe, as to venture it upon ſuch weakneſſe. Much more might be ſpoken to this purpoſe; but I forbeare.*

2. *I will not further trouble your Majeſty with that which is contained in the ſecond Section, hoping that your Majeſty will no more inſiſt upon* Education, preſcription of time, &c. *which are ſufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majeſty acknowledges) muſt give place to Reaſon, and are no ſure ground of reſolution of our Faith, in any point to be believed: although it be true that the moſt part of men make theſe and the like, to be the ground*

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and rule of their Faith: an Evidence, that their Faith is not a Divine faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. *Concerning* Reformation of Religion *in the third Section; I had need have a Preface to ſo thorny a Theame, as your Majeſty hath brought me upon;* 1. *For* the Reforming power; *it is conceived, when a Generall Defection, like a deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, ſo that ſcarcely the tops of the Mountains doe appeare, a Generall Councell is neceſſary; but, becauſe that can hardly be obtained, ſeverall Kingdomes (which we ſee was done, at the time of the Reformation) are to reforme themſelves, and that by the Authority of their Prince, and Magiſtrates: if the Prince or ſupreme Magiſtrate, be unwilling, then may the inferior Magiſtrate, and the People, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reforme, within their own ſphere; and if the light ſhine upon all, or the major part, they may, after all other meanes aſſayed, make a Publique Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or ſpoke; yet the Maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But,* Sir, *were I worthy to give advice to your Majeſty, or to the Kings and ſupreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they ſhould draw the minds, tongues, and pens of the learned, to diſpute about other matter, then the power or Prerogotive of Kings and Princes; and in this kind, your Majeſty hath ſuffered and loſt more, then will eaſily be reſtored to your ſelfe or your Poſterity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes,* Quibus--deficientibus, *it comes to the inferior Magiſtrate,* Quibus Deficientibus, *it deſcendeth to the*

the Body of the People; supposing that there is a necessity of Reformation, and that by no meanes it can be obtained of their Superiors. It is true that such a Reformation, is more imperfect, in respect of the Instruments, and manner of Procedure; yet for the most part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite the Examples of old of Reformation by Regall Authority; of which none was perfect, in the second way of perfection, except that of Josiah. *Concerning the saying of* Grostead, *whom the* Cardinals at Rome *confest to be a more Godly man, than any of themselves; it was his Complaint, and Prediction of what was likely to ensue, not his desire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained, in the ordinary way. I might bring two unpartiall Witnesses,* Jewel *and* Bilson, *both famous English Bishops, to prove that the tumults and troubles raised in* Scotland, *at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papists opposing of the Reformation, both of Doctrine and Discipline, as an Hereticall Innovation; and not to be ascribed to the Nobility, or People, who under God, were the Instruments of it; intending and seeking nothing, but the purging out of Errour, and setling of the Truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of* England, *I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in K.* Henry *the 8. time, it was not finished by* Q. Elizabeth: *the Father stirred the humors of the diseased Church; but neither the Sonne nor the Daughter (although we have great reason to blesse God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This Perfection is yet reserved for your Majesty: Where it is said,* that all this time I bring no Reasons, for a further Change; *the fourth Section, of my last Paper, hath*

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many hints of Reaſons againſt Epiſcopall Government, *with an offer of more, or clearing of thoſe; which your Majeſty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned men, have obſerved many Defects in that Reformation: As that the Government of the* Church of England, (*for about this is the Queſtion now*) *is not builded upon the foundation of* Chriſt *and the* Apoſtles; *which they, at leaſt cannot deny, who profeſſe* Church-Government *to be* mutable *and* ambulatory; *and ſuch were the greater part of* Arch-biſhops *and* Biſhops *in* England, *contenting themſelves with the* conſtitutions *of the* Church, *and the* authority *and* munificence *of* Princes, *till of late, that ſome few have pleaded it to be* Jure Divino: That, the Engliſh Reformation hath not perfectly purged out the Roman Leven; *which is one of the* reaſons *that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of* Laodicæa, *as being neither hot nor cold, neither* Popiſh *nor* Reformed, *but of a lukewarme temper, betwixt the two*: That it hath depraved the Diſcipline of the Church, by conforming of it to the Civil policy: That it hath added many Church Offices, higher and lower, unto thoſe inſtituted by the Son of God; *which is as unlawfull as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine Inſtitution: and other the like, which have moved ſome to apply this ſaying to the Church of* England, Multi ad perfectionem pervenirent, niſi jam ſe perveniſſe crederent.

4. *In my Anſwer to the firſt of your Majeſties many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of ſome Reaſons to prove,* that a Biſhop and Presbyter are one and the ſame in Scripture: *from which, by neceſſary conſequence, I did inferre the* negative; There-

Therefore, *no difference in Scripture between a* Biſhop *and a* Presbyter; *the one name ſignifying,* Induſtriam Curiæ Paſtoralis; *the other,* Sapientiæ Maturitatem, *ſaith* Beda. *And whereas Your Majeſty averes,* that Presbyterian Government was never practiſed, before Calvin's time; *your Majeſty knows, the common objection of the* Papiſts, *againſt the* Reformed Churches; *Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before* Luther's *time? One part of the common Anſwer is,* that it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture: *The ſame I affirme of Presbyterian Government: And for the proving of this, the* Aſſembly of Divines *at* Weſtminſter, *have made manifeſt,* that the Primitive Chriſtian Church at *Jeruſalem* was governed by a Presbytery: *while they ſhew,* 1. *That the Church of* Jeruſalem *conſiſted of more Congregations than one, from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apoſtles, and other Preachers in that Church, and from the diverſity of Languages among the Believers.* 2. *That all theſe Congregations, were under one Presbyteriall Government, becauſe they were, for Government, one Church,* Acts 11. 22. 26. *And becauſe that Church was governed by Elders,* Acts 11. 30. *which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for acts of Government: And the Apoſtles themſelves, in that meeting* Acts 15. *acted not as Apoſtles, but as Elders; ſtating the Queſtion, debating it, in the ordinary way of diſputation; and having, by ſearch of Scripture, found the will of God, they conclude,* It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us: *which in the judgement of the learned, may be ſpoken by any Aſſembly, upon like evidence of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Go-*

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vernment had place in the Churches of Corinth, Epheſus, Theſſalonica, &c. *in the times of the Apoſtles; and after them, for many years, when one of the Presbytery was made* Epiſcopus Præſes, *even then,* Communi Presbyterorum Conſilio, Eccleſiæ gubernabantur, *ſaith* Jerome; and Epiſcopos magis conſuetudine, quam Diſpoſitionis Divinæ veritate, Presbyteris eſſe majores, & in Commune debere Eccleſiam regere.

5. *Farre be it from me to think ſuch a thought, as that your Maieſty did intend any Fallacy, in your other maine Argument, from Antiquity. As we are to diſtinguiſh between* Intentio operantis, & Conditio operis; *ſo may we in this caſe conſider the difference betweon* Intentio Argumentantis & Conditio Argumenti. *And where Your Majeſty argues, That, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the* Interpretation of private Spirits, *which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtle* Peter, *and will prove to be of dangerous conſequence; I humbly offer to be conſidered by Your Majeſty, what ſome of chief note among the* Papiſts *themſelves have taught us, That the* Interpretation *of* Scriptures, *and the* Spirits *whence they proceed, may be called* private, *in a threefold ſenſe.* 1. Ratione Perſonæ, *if the Interpreter be of a private condition.* 2. Ratione Modi & Medii, *when Perſons, although not private, uſe not the publique meanes which are neceſſary for finding out the Truth, but follow their owne fancies.* 3. Ratione finis, *when the Interpretation is not propoſed as Authenticall to bind others, but is intended only for our owne private ſatisfaction. The firſt is not to be diſpiſed; the ſecond is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apoſtle* Peter; *the third ought not to be cenſured;* m.

ſured : But that Interpretation which is Authenticall, and of ſupreme Authority, which even mans conſcience is bound to yeild unto, is of an higher nature. And, although the Generall Councell ſhould reſolve it, and the Conſent of the Fathers ſhould be had unto it, yet there muſt alwaies be place left to the judgment of Diſcretion, as Davenant, *late Biſhop of* Salisbury, *beſide divers others, h th learnedly made appeare in his Booke,* De Judice Controverſiarum; *where alſo the Power of Kings in matter of Religion, is ſolidly and unpartially determined.*

M. *Two words onely I adde; one is, that notwithſtanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Biſhop having ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, will never be found in* Prime Antiquity. *The other is, that many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that* Antichriſt, *which was conceived in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Queſtion of* Hierarchy. *And upon the other part, the Lights of the Chriſtian Church, at, and ſince the beginning of the Reformation, have diſcovered many ſecrets, concerning the* Antichriſt *and his* Hierarchy, *which were not knowne to former Ages: And diverſe of the learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That, whoſoever denies the true and literall ſenſe of many Texts of Scripture, to h ve been found out in this laſt Age, is unthankfull to God, who hath ſo plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generation, and ungratefull towards thoſe men, who with ſo great paines, ſo happy ſucceſſe, and ſo much benefit to Gods Church, have travailed therein: This might be inſtanced in many places of Scripture: I wind together* Diotrephes *and the* Myſtery of Iniquity, *the one, as an old example of Church-ambition,*

ambition, which was also too palpable in the Apostles themselves; And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards discovered; which two, brought forth the great Mystery *of the Papacy at last.*

6. *Although your Majesty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you so far censure them, and their actions, as, without Bishops, in your judgement, they cannot have a lawfull Ministery, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments: Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion, I did alledge what I supposed, your Majesty would not have denied,* 1. *That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Ordain other Presbyters.* 2. *That Baptisme, administred by such a Presbyter, is another thing than Baptisme administred by a private person, or by a Midwife. Of the first your Majesty calls for proof: I told before, that in Scripture, it is manifest,* 1 Tim. 4.14. Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the Prophesie, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery: *so it is in the English Translation: And the word* Presbytery, *so often as it is used in the New Testament, alwayes signifies the* Persons, *and not the* Office. *And although the Offices of* Bishop *and* Presbyter *were distinct; yet doth not the* Presbyter *derive his power of Order, from the* Bishop. *The Evangelists were inferiour to the Apostles; yet had they their power, not from the Apostles, but from Christ: The same I affirm of the 70 Disciples, who had their power immediately from Christ, no less than the Apostles had theirs. It may upon better reason be averred, that the* Bishops *have their power from the Pope, than that* Presbyters *have their power from the Prelats. It is true,* Jerome *saith,* Quid facit, exceptâ ordinatione Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter; *but in the same place he proves from*

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from Scripture, that Epiſcopus *and* Presbyter *are one and the ſame; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Biſhop, he ſpeaketh of the degenerated cuſtome of his time.* 2. *Concerning* Baptiſme, *a private Perſon may perform the external Action and Rites, both of it and of the Euchariſt; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unleſs it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a perſon made publique, and clothed with Authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of* Baptiſme, *is begot by another Errour, of the Abſolute Neceſſity of* Baptiſme.

7. *To that which hath been ſaid, concerning Your Majeſties* Oath, *I ſhall adde nothing; not being willing to enter upon the Queſtion, of the ſubordination of the Church to the Civill Power, whether the King or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an Headſhip as the Kings of* England *have claimed, and ſuch a ſupremacy as the two Houſes of Parl. crave, with the Appeals from the ſupreme Eccleſiaſticall Judicature to them as ſet over the Church, in the ſame line of Subordination, I do utterly diſclaime upon ſuch Reaſons as give my ſelf ſatisfaction, although no man ſhall be more willing to ſubmit to Civill powers, each one in their own place; and more unwilling to make any trouble than my ſelf: Onely concerning the application of the Generals of an Oath, to the particular caſe now in hand; under favor, I conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of* England, *is, or ought to be principally intended, in your Oath: For, although they were eſteemed to be the Repreſentative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective,* Salus Populi, *being* Suprema lex, *and to be principally intended. Your Majeſty knows it was ſo in the Church of* Scotland,

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where the like alteration was made. And if nothing of this kind can be done without the conſent of the Clergy, what Reformation can be expected in France, *or* Spaine, *or* Rome *it ſelf? It is not to be expected, that the Pope, or Prelates will conſent to their own ruine.* M.

8. *I will not preſume upon any ſecret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King, Your Majeſties Father, of famous Memory; they being much better known to your Majeſtie, I did only produce, what was profeſt by him, before the world: And although* Prayers and Tears be the Arms of the Church; *yet, it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducible for Kings and Princes, to* force the Church to put on theſe Armes: *Nor could I ever hear a reaſon, why a neceſſary Defenſive War againſt unjuſt Violence is unlawfull, although it be joyned with offence and invaſion which is intended for Defence, but ſo that Arms are layed down when the offenſive Warre ceaſeth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other ſide, was, in the nature thereof, Defenſive.* M.

9. *Concerning the forcing of Conſcience, which I pretermitted in my other Paper, I am forced now, but without forcing of my conſcience, to ſpeak of. Our Conſcience may be ſaid to be forced; either by our ſelves, or by other. By our ſelves,* 1. *When we ſtop the ear of our Conſcience, and will not hearken, or give place to information, reſolving obſtinately,* Ne ſi perſuaſeris, perſuadebis; *which is no leſſe then a reſiſting of the Holy Ghoſt, & the hardning of our hearts.* 2. *Or when we ſtop the mouth, and ſuppreſs the clamours of our conſcience; reſolving rather to ſuffer the worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, then to make profeſſion of that we are convinced to be Truth.* 3. *Or when we ſeare our Conſcience, as with an hot Iron, that* M.

it becometh ſenſleſſe, which is the puniſhment of the former: unto which is oppoſed, the truly tender Conſcience; ſuch as Joſiah *had,* 2 King. 22.19. *Again,* 1. *our* Conſcience *is ſaid to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in it ſelf evill and unlawfull; which if we admit, againſt our own Conſcience, we ſin, two wayes; one is,* by doing that which is in it ſelf evil and unlawfull; *the other is,* by doing it againſt a dictate of Conſcience, *which is a contempt of God, whoſe Vicegerent it is.* 2. *Or when others urge us to do that which is in it ſelf good, or may lawfully be done, but through error of Conſcience, we judge it to be evill and unlawfull: in this caſe, if we do not that which is preſt upon us, we ſin, becauſe the thing is good and lawfull: And if we do it, we ſin, becauſe we do againſt our Conſcience. Which in this caſe bindeth, but obligeth not: And yet there is a way to eſcape out of this labyrinth, it being repugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a* neceſſity *of ſinning upon any man: The only way is,* to lay aſide ſuch a Conſcience, *it being a part of the Old man, which we are commanded to* put off; *otherwiſe, we being ſufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old error, we rather do violence to our Conſcience our ſelves, than ſuffer violence from others. The Application, for Anſwering the* Quære, *I leave to your Majeſty.*

Newcaſtle, *June* 17. 1646.

For Mr. Alex. Henderson. *In Reply to his second Paper, June* 22. 1646.

His MAJESTIES third Paper.

1. IT were arrogance, besides losse of time, in Me to vie *preambles* with you; For, it is *truth* I seek, and neither *praise*, nor *victory*; wherefore I shall onely insist upon those things which are meerly necessary to my own sati faction; in order to which, I desired the *assistance* of some *Divines*; whereupon I will insist no further, save onely to wish, that you may not (as I have known many Men doe) *lose* time by being mistaken in the way to *save* it, wherein I have onely sought to disburthen My self, but to lay no blame upon you, and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second then this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning my *education* and *reason*; but then remember, that *another Mans will*, is at least, as weak a ground, to build my Faith upon, as my former *education*.

3. In this there are two points; First, concerning the *Reforming power*, then anent the *English Reformation*; For the first, I confesse you now speak clearly, which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I shall mainly differ with you, untill you shall shew me better reason: yet thus farre I will goe along with you, that when a *Generall Councell* cannot be had, severall *Kingdomes* may *Reforme* themselves, (which is learnedly and

fully proved by the late *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* in his disputation against *Fisher*) but, that the *inferior Magistrates* or *People* (take it which way you will) have this *power*, I utterly deny; For which, by your favour, you have yet made no sufficient proofe, to my judgement: Indeed, if you could have brought, or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, with all reverence submit; but as for *your Examples, out of the Old Testament*, in my mind, they rather make for, than against me, all those *Reformations* being made by *Kings*; and it is a good *probable* (though I will not say *convincing*) *Argument*, that if God would have approved of a *Popular reforming way*, there were *Kings* of *Judah* and *Israel* sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by; but by the contrary, the 16. Chap. of *Numbers* shewes clearly, how God *disapproves* of such courses: but I forget this Assertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let me tell you that this *pretended power* in the *People*, must (as all others) either be directly, or else declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how soon you can do, I submit; otherwise you prove nothing: For the citing of private mens opinions (more then as they concurre with the *generall consent of the Church* in their time) weighs little with me, it being too well known, that *Rebels never wanted Writers to maintain their unjust actions*; and though I much reverence Bishop *Jewels* memory, I never thought him *infallible*; for *Bilson* I remember well what opinion the *King* my *Father* had of him for those Opinions, and how he shewed him some favour

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in hope of his *recantation*, (as his good nature made him do many things of that kind) but whether he did, or not, I cannot say, : To conclude this point, untill you shall prove this *position* by the *word of God*, (as I will *Regall Authority*) I shall think all *popular Reformation*, little better than *Rebellions*; for, I hold that *no Authority is lawfull but that which is either directly given, or* at least, *approved by God*. Secondly, Concerning the *English Reformation*, the first reason you bring why Q. *Elizabeth* did not finish it, is, *because she tooke not away Episcopacy*, the *hints of reason against which Government*, you say, *I take no notice of*; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea and answer too, when I told you, *a negative* (as I conceived) *could not be proved*, and that it was for me to prove the *affirmative*; which I shall either do, or yield the Argument, as soone as I shall be assisted with *Bookes*, or such *men* of my opinion, who, like you, have a Library in their braine: And so I must leave this particular, untill I be furnished with *means* to put it to an *issue*; which had been sooner done, if I could have had my will: indeed your second well proved, is most sufficient, which is, That *the English Church-Government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles*; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeit our *Archbishops* and *Bishops* should have professed *Church-Government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: and secondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that most of them maintained this *walking* position, (for some particulars must not conclude the generall) for which you must

find much better Arguments than their being content with the *Constitution of the Church*, and the *Authority* and *munificence of Princes*, or you will fall extreamly short: As for the *retaining* of the *Roman leven*, you must prove it, as well as say it, else you say little: But that the conforming of the *Church discipline* to the *civill policy*, should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I averre, that without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be happy: And for your last instance, you shall do well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more Officers in the Church than he named; and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for, an *Archbishop* is onely a distinction for *order* of *Government*, not a *new Officer*, and so of the rest; and of this kind, I believe there are diverse now in *Scotland* which you will not condemne, as the *Moderators of Assemblies*, and others.

4. Where you find a *Bishop*, and *Presbyter*, in Scripture, to be one and the same (which I deny to be alwaies so) it is in the *Apostles time*; now I think to prove the Order of *Bishops* succeeded that of the *Apostles*, and that the name was chiefly altered, in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our *Saviour*, (albeit, in their time, they caused diverse to be called so, as *Barnabas* and others) so that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you: As for your proofe of the antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is well that the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster* can do more then *Eusebius* could, and I shall believe, when I see it; for, your former Paper affirmes, that those times were very dark for matter of fact,

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and will be so still for me if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, than those you mention: for, because there were *diverse Congregations in Jerusalem*; ergo, *what?* are there not *divers Parishes in one Diocesse*; (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the *Apostles met with those of the inferiour Orders, for Acts of Government*; what then? even so in these times do the *Deanes* and *Chapters*, and many times those of the *inferiour Clergy* assist the *Bishops*; but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the *Apostles* and other *Presbyters*, which not being, doth (in my judgment) quite invalidate these Arguments: And if you can say no more for the Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Thessalonica*, *&c.* than you have for *Jerusalem*, it will gaine no ground on me: As for Saint *Jerome*, it is well known that he was no great Friend to Bishops, as being none himself, yet take him altogether, and you will find that he makes a clear distinction between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained *Deacons* to be equall to *Presbyters*.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *Fallacy*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did: but by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of my Argument, for when you and I differ upon the *interpretation of Scripture*, and I appeale to the *practise* of the *Primitive Church*, and *the universall consent of the Fathers*, to be judge between us, methinks you should either find a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which (to my understanding)

standing) you have yet done; nor have you shewn how, waving those Judges I appeale unto, the mischief, of the interpretation by *private Spirits*, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by *antiquity*, that *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops*, (thereby cleerly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of my former *foundations*; (as for Bishop *Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to *Fathers*, I take it to be *a begging of the Question*; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages, I shall call *new-invented fancies*, untill particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your *Roman Authours*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintaine *Novelties*, as well as the *Puritans*: As for *Church ambition*, it doth not at all terminate, in seeking to be *Pope*; for, I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be *independent of Kings*, it being possible, that *Papacy* in a *multitude* may be as dangerous as in *one*.

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6. As I am no *Judge* over the *Reformed Churches*, so neither do I censure them, for many things may be avowable upon *necessity*, which otherwayes are *unlawfull*; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better because it is done by such a *particular Church* (though it were by the *Church of England*, wch I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that *Church* most, which comes neareſt to the *purity of the primitive Doctrine and Discipline*, as I believe this doth. Now concerning *Ordination*, I bad you prove that *Presbyters* without a *Bishop* might lawfully *ordaine*, which yet I conceive

ceive you have not done; for, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. it is evident, that Saint *Paul* was at *Timothies ordination*; and albeit that all the *Seventy* had their power immediately from *Christ*, yet it is as evident, that our *Saviour* made a clear distinction between the *twelve Apostles* and the rest of the *Disciples*, which is set down by three of the *Evangelists*, whereof St. *Marke* calls it *an Ordination*, *Mark* 3. 15. and St. *Luke* sayes, *And of them he chose Twelve, &c. Luke* 6. 13. onely St. *Matthew* doth but barely enumerate them by their *name* of distinction, *Mat.* 10. 1. I suppose out of modesty, himself being one, and the other two being none, are more particular. For *the administration of Baptisme*, giving, but not granting what you say, it makes more for me, than you: but I will not engage upon new questions, not necessary for my purpose.

7. For my *Oath*, you do well not to enter upon those Questions you mention; and you had done as well to have omitted your instance; but, out of discretion, I desire you to collect your Answer out of the last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of my Oath be for the good of the *Church collective*, therefore can I be dispensed withall by others than the *representative Body*? certainly no more then the People can dispense with me for any *Oaths* I took in their favours, without the two Houses of Parliament; as for future reformations, I will onely tell you, that *incommodum non solvit Argumentum.*

8. For the *King* my *Fathers* opinion, if it were not to spend time (as I believe) needlesly, I could prove by living and written testimonies, all, and more, then I have said of Him, for his perswasion

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in these points which I now maintain; and for your *defensive War*, as I do acknowledge it a great sin for any King to *oppresse the Church*, so I hold it absolutely unlawfull for *Subjects* (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make *War* (though *defensive* against their *lawfull Soveraign*; against which no less proofs will make me yield but *Gods word*; let me tell you, that upon such points as these, *instances*, as well as *comparisons*, are *odious*.

9. Lastly, you mistake the *Quære* in my first Paper to which this pretends to answer; for my Question was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I never doubted the lawfulnesse of it) but *force of Armes*, to which, I conceive, it sayes little or nothing, unlesse (after My example) you refer Me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the *asking of the question*, after a fine discourse of the severall wayes of *perswading* rather than *forcing* of Conscience: I close up this Paper, desiring you to take notice, that there is none of these Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word than others by a long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that *reason epitomized*, will weigh as much with you, as if it were at large.

C. R.

June 22. 1646.

For

For His Majeſtie,

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers, and practiſe of the Church.

Iune 2. 1646.

Mr. *Alex. Henderſon's* third Paper.

HAving in my former Papers preſſed the ſteps of your Majeſties Propoſitions, and finding by your Majeſties laſt Paper, Controverſies to be multiplyed, (I believe) beyond your Majeſties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the Reforming Power: *The* Reformation of the Church of England; *The* difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter; *The* warrants of Presbyterian Government; *The* Authority of Interpreting Scripture; *The* taking and keeping of Publique Oathes; *The* forcing of Conſcience; *and many other inferior and ſubordinate Queſtions, which are Branches of thoſe main Controverſies: All which in a ſatisfactory manner to determin in few words, I leave to more preſuming Spirits, who either ſee no knots of difficulties, or can find a way rather to cut them aſunder, than to unlooſe them: yet will I not uſe any Tergiverſation; nor do I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reaſons thereof, in their own time concerning each of them; which in obedience to your Maieſties command, I have begun to doe already. Onely Sir, by your Majeſties favourable permiſſion, for the greater expedition, and that the preſent velitations may be brought to ſome iſſue, I am bold to entreat that the*

Method

Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a principle, and that which ſhould have been, inter Præcognita; *I mean the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determine the preſent Controverſie of* Church-Policy; *without which we will be led into a labyrinth, and want a thred to winde us out again. In your Majeſties firſt Paper; the* univerſall cuſtome of the Primitive Church, *is conceived to be the Rule. In the ſecond Paper, Section the* 5. *The* practice *of the* Primitive Church, and the univerſall Conſent of the Fathers, *is made a convincing Argument, when the* Interpretation of ſcripture *is doubtful; in your third paper,* Sect. 5. the practiſe of the Primitive Church, and the univerſall conſent of Fathers, *is made Judge; and I know, that nothing is more ordinary in this Queſtion, then to alleage* Antiquity, perpetual Succeſſion, univerſall Conſent of the Fathers, *and the* univerſall practiſe *of the* Primitive Church, *according to the Rule of* Auguſtine, Quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec à Conſilio inſtitutum ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non, niſi Authoritate Apoſtolicâ, traditum rectiſſime creditur. *There is in this Argument at the firſt view, ſo much appearance of Reaſon, that it may much work upon a modeſt mind; yet being well examined and rightly weighed, it will be found to be of no great weight; for beſide that the minor will never be made good in the behalf of a* Dioſæſian Biſhop, *having ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintain that* Biſhop and Presbyter are of one and the ſame Order; *I ſhall humbly offer ſome few Conſiderations about the major, becauſe it hath been an inlet to many dangerous Errors, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obſtruction to Reformation of Religion.*

1. *Firſt,*

1. *Firſt, I deſire it may be conſidered, that whiles ſome make two Rules for defining* Controverſies ; *the Word of God and antiquity, (which they will have to be received with equall veneration) or, as the Papiſts call them,* Canonicall Authority, and Catholicall Tradition ; *and others, make* Scripture *to be the onely* Rule, and Antiquity *the authentick* Interpreter ; *the latter of the two ſeemes to me to be the greater errour : becauſe the firſt ſetteth up a* parallel, *in the ſame degree with Scripture ; but this would create a Superior, in a higher degree above Scripture : For the* interpretation *of the Fathers ſhall be the* Δικτὶ, *and accounted the very Cauſe and Reaſon for which we conceive and believe ſuch a place of Scripture to have ſuch a ſence ; and thus, men ſhall have Dominion over our Faith, againſt* 2 Cor. 1. 24. *Our faith ſhall ſtand in the wiſdom of man, and not in the power of God,* 1 Cor. 2. 5. *and Scripture ſhall be of private interpretation ; For the Prophecie came not of old by the will of man,* 2 Pet. 1. 20. 22. Niſi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jam Deo propitius eſſe debebit, *ſaith* Tertullian. n.

2. *That Scripture cannot be Authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifeſt from Scripture : The Levites gave the ſenſe of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it ſelf,* Neh. 8. 8. *Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true ſenſe of Scripture, againſt the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alledging any Teſtimonies out of the Rabbins,* Mat. 4. *And the Apoſtles, in their Epiſtles, uſed no other help, but the diligent comparing of Prophetical writings ; like as the Apoſtle* Peter, *will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apoſtles, with the* m.

more

more obscure light of the Prophets, 2 Pet. 1. 19. *And when we betake our selves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that, with the Papists, we accuse not the Scriptures of obscurity or imperfection.*

3. *The Fathers themselves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Conclusion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it self: To this purpose, amongst many other Testimonies, they bring the saying of* Tertullian, Surge veritas, ipsa Scripturas tuas interpretare, quam Consuetudo non novit; nam si noscet, non esset: *if it knew Scripture, it would be ashamed of it self, and cease to be any more.*

Error

4. *That some Errors have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of* Free-will *beginning at* Justin Martyr, *continued till the time of* Reformation, *although it was rejected by* Augustine, *as the* Divine Right of Episcopacy *was opposed by others. The Error about the* Vision of God, *That* the Souls of the Saints departed, see not the face of God, till the Judgment of the Great Day, *was held by universall Consent: the same may be said of the error of the Millenaries; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the present Question, the Ancients erred grosly about the* Antichrist *and* Mystery of Iniquity, *which did begin to worke in the dayes of the Apostles. Many other Instances might be brought to prove the* universall practise of the Church, *as were not warranted by the Apostles; as in the Rites of* Baptisme and Prayer; *and the forming up and drawing together of the Articles of that Creed, that is called* Symbolum Apostolicum; *the observation of many* Feasts *and* Fasts *both Aniversary and weekly.*

5. *That*

5. *That it is not a matter so incredible, or impossible, as some would have it appeare to be, for the Primitive Church to have made a sudden defection from the Apostolicall purity: The people of* Israel, *in the short time of* Moses *his absence on the mount, turned aside quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry,* Exod. 32. *soone after the death of* Josuah, *and the Elders that had seen the great works, which the Lord had done for* Israel, *there arose another Generation after them, which did evill in the sight of the Lord,* Judg. 2. *and 7. soone after the building of the Temple, and setling of Religion by* David *and* Solomon, *the worship of God was defiled with Idolatry: when* Rehoboam *had established the Kingdome, he forsook the Law of the Lord, and all* Israel *with him,* 2 Chron. 12. 1. *And the Apostle sayes to the Galatians,* Gal. 1. 6. I marvell that you are so soone removed unto another Gospel: *why then shall we think it strange, that in the matter of Discipline, there should be a sudden defection, especially it being begun in the time of the Apostles? I know it is a common Opinion, but I believe there be no strong reasons for it, that the Church which was neareſt the times of the Apostles was the most pure and perfect Church.* M.

6. *That it is impossible to come to the knowledge of the universall Consent and Practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the Fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are perished, (it may be that both of these have dissented from the rest) many of the Writings which we have under their names are supposititious, and counterfeit, especially about Episcopacy which was the foundation of Papall Primacy: The Rule of* Augustine *afore-mentioned*

doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like Conſiderations may be added; but theſe may be ſufficient to prove, that the unanimous Conſent of the Fathers, and the univerſall practice of the Primitive Church, is no ſure ground of Authenticall interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a grave Divine in Scotland, *much honoured by K.* James *of happy memory, who did often profeſſe that he did learne more of one Page of* John Calvin, *then of a whole Treatiſe of* Auguſtine: *nor can there be any good reaſon, (many there be againſt it) why the Ancients ſhould be ſo farre preferred to the Moderne Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner Deified, and the other vilified: It is but a poor Reaſon that ſome give,* Fama miratrix ſenioris ævi, *and is abundantly anſwered by the Apologiſt for Divine Providence. If your Majeſty be ſtill unſatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpoſe I ſhould proceed or trouble your Majeſty any more.*

Newcaſtle, July 2. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson,*

July 3. 1646.

His MAJESTIES fourth Paper.

I Shall very willingly follow the *method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive, that my last Paper multiplies more Controversies than my first gave occasion for; having been so far from augmenting the Heads of our Disputation, that I have omitted the answering many things, in both your Papers, expressly to avoid raising of new and needlesse *Questions*; desiring to have only so many debated, as are simply necessary to shew, whether, or not, *I may with a safe conscience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in England*; and indeed I like very well, to begin with the *setling of the Rule*, by which we are to proceed, and determine the present *Controversie*; to which purpose (as I conceive) my third Paper shewes you an excellent way; for there, I offer you a *Judge* between us, or desire you to *finde out a better*, which, to my judgement, you have not yet done, (though you have sought to invalidate mine) for, if you understand to have offered the *Scripture*, though no man shall pay more reverence, nor submit more humbly to it, than my self; yet we must find some rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the *interpretation* of the self-same Text, or it can never determine our Questions; as for ex-

ample; I say you misapply that of 2 *Cor.* 1. 14. to *me* (let others answer for themselves) for I know not how I make *other men to have dominion over my Faith*, when I make them onely *serve* to *approve my reason*; nor do I conceive how, 1. *Cor.* 2. 5. can be applied to this purpose; For there Saint *Paul* only shewes the difference between *Divine* and *Humane Eloquence*, making no mention of any kind of *interpretation* throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint *Peter* does, 2. *Pet.* 1. 20. which I conceive makes for *me*; for, since that no *Prophesie of Scripture is of any privat interpretation*; First, I inferre, that *Scripture* is to be *Interpreted*; for else, the *Apostle* would have omitted the word *Private*: Secondly, that at least the consent of many learned Divines is necessary, and so *à fortiori*, that of the *Catholique Church*, ought to be an *authentique Judge*, when men differ: And is it a good Argument? because (*Mat.* 4. 4. 7. 10.) Scripture is best interpreted by it selfe, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawfull? certainfull you cannot thinke: Thus having shewed you that we differ, about the *meaning* of the Scripture, and are like to do so; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things, a *Rule* or a *Judge* between us, to determine our differences, or, at least, to make our Probations and Arguments *Relevant*; therefore evading, for this time, to Answer your 6 *Considerations* (not I assure you for the difficulty of them, but the starting of new Questions) I desire you onely to shew me a better, than what I have offered unto you,

C. R.

Newcastle, July 3. 1646.

For

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson*,

A particular Answer to Mr. *Alex. Henderson's, July* 3.16. 1646.

His MAJESTIES fifth Paper.

UNtill you shall finde out a *fitter way* to decide our *Difference* in Opinion concerning *Interpretation of Scripture* than the *Consent of the Fathers, and the Universall Practice of the Primitive Church*, I cannot but passe My Judgement anent those *6 Considerations*, which you offered to invalidate those Authorities, that I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention *two Rules for defining of Controversies*, and seek a most old way to confute them, as I think; For you alleage, that *there is more attributed to them*, then I believe you can prove, by the Consent of most learned Men (there being no Question, but there are alwayes some flattering fooles that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expressions) and you know that *supposito quolibet, sequitur quidlibet*; besides do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellowes, should attribute more power to *Presbyters*, than is really due unto them, that thereby their Just reverence and Authority is diminished? So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain that the *Interpretation of Fathers*, is a most excellent *strengthning* to My Opinion, though Others should attribute the *Cause* and *Reason* of their Faith unto it,

2. As there is no Question, but that *Scripture* is the farre *better Interpreter* of it self, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

3. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your self, Me, and innumerable Others, who yet unblameably have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

4. If this you onely intend to prove, that *Errours* were alwayes *breeding in the Church*, I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose; but if your meaning be, to accuse the *Universall practice of the Church* with *Error*, I must say, it is a very bold undertaking; and, (if you cannot justifie your self by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed, wherein you must not alleage, that to be universally received, which was not, as I dare say, that the *Controversie about Free will*, was never yet decided, by *Oecumenicall*, or *Generall Councell*; nor must you presume to call that an *Error*, which really the *Catholique Church* maintained (as in *Rites of Baptisme*, *Forms of Prayer*, *Observation of Feasts*, *Fasts*, &c.) except you can prove it so by the word of God; and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the *Apostles*, but you must prove by their *Doctrine*, that such a thing was *unlawfull*, or else the *Practice of the Church* is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that Custome whatsoever it be, and think it good, and shall believe that the *Apostles Creed* was made by them, (such *Reverence* I bear to the Churches *Tradition*) untill other Authors be certainly found out.

5. I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was no good Argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible; that any

any *custome of the Catholick Church* was erroneous, which was not contradicted, by *Orthodox*, learned Men, in the times of their first Practice, as is easily perceived that all those *Defections* were, (some of them may be justly called *Rebellions*) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impossible*, (though I confesse it *difficult*) to come to the knowledge of the *Universall Consent, and Practice of the Primitive Church*, therefore I confess a man ought to be *carefull* how to believe things of this nature; wherefore I conceive this to be only an Argument for *Caution*.

My conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any *Authority* equall to the *Scriptures*; yet I doe think the *Unanimous Consent of the Fathers*, and the *Universall Practice of the Primitive Church, to be the best and most Authentical Interpreters of Gods word*, and consequently the fittest Judges between Me and you, when we differ, untill you shall find me better: For example, I think you for the present, the best *Preacher* in *Newcastle*, yet I believe you may erre, and possibly a better *Preacher* may come, but till then, I must retain my Opinion.

C. R.

Newcastle,
July 16. 1646.

THE END.

THE END.

RELIQUIÆ SACRÆ CAROLINÆ:

THE
Pourtraicture of His Sacred
MAJESTIE
IN HIS
SOLITUDES and SUFFERINGS:
Together with
Severall additions relating to the Death of that most *Religious* and *Blessed* PRINCE.

The second part containing Matters sacred.

HAGUE,
Printed by *Samuel Brown.*

A

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY IN HIS *Solitudes* and *Sufferings*.

ROM. 8.

More then Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.



M. DC. XLVIII.



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Upon His Sacred MAJESTIES incomparable
ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Couldſt thou before thy death have giv'n *what we*
Might ask, *Thy* Book *had been the* Legacy:
Thy Will *can make but* Heirs *of* Monarchy;
But this doth make each man an Heir *of* Thee.
Bleſt Soul! Thou *art now mounted up on High,*
Beyond our Reach, *yet not above our* Eye;
Lo here Thy other-ſelf: *Thus thou canſt be*
In Heav'n and Earth, without ubiquity.
Like this thou haſt no Picture; *So Divine,*
Might any Image *be ador'd, 'twere* Thine.
So curious is this Work, 'tis eas'ly known
'Twas drawn by no mans Penſil *but Thine own.*
None could expreſſe a King *but Thou: We ſee,*
Men *cannot*, Gods *may limn a* Deity.
The Style *betrayes a* King, *the* Art *a* Man,
The high Devotion *ſpeaks a* Chriſtian.
Theſe meet in CHARLS *alone; but* He, *there's none*
So fully All, *as if He were but* One:
How ſhort of Thee is Balzack's *Prince! He knew*
Not how to think *what thou knew'ſt how to* do:

Thou art the Copy *for our Kings; and He*
Shall ſtill be beſt, that frames Himſelf by Thee:
Thy Work's a Practick Pattern *for Thy* Son,
Who, having this, ſhall need no Xenophon.
They that would know thy parts, muſt read Thee: *look*
You'l find each Line *a* Page, *each* Page *a* Book;
Each Comma *is ſo full, each* Colon *good,*
'Tis pity Death did put a Period.
Great Tully *had been ſilenc'd amongſt men,*
Had but Thy Tongue *been equall to thy* Pen:
But this Defect *doth prove Thy skill more choice,*
That makes the Eccho *ſweeter than the* Voice.
Our Bodley's *ſhelves will now be full; No man*
Will want more Books, This one's a Vatican;
Yet 'tis but CHARLS *contracted: Since His fall,*
Heav'n hath the Volume, *Earth the* Manual.

POnderibus *genus omne mali, probriq́, gravatus,*
Vixq́, ferenda ferens, Palma *ut* Depreſſa, *reſurgo.*

Ac, velut undarum Fluctîs Ventiq; *furorem*
Irati Populi Rupes immota *repello.*

Clarior è tenebris, *cœleſtis ſtella, coruſco.*
Victor & æternùm-felici pace triumpho.

Auro Fulgentem *rutilo gemmiſq́, micantem,*
At curis Gravidam *ſpernendo* calco Coronam.

Spinoſam, *at* ferri facilem, *quo* Spes mea, *Chriſti*
Auxilio, Nobis non eſt tractare *moleſtum.*

Æternam, *fixis fidei, ſemperq́,*-beatam.
In cœlos oculis Specto, *Nobiſq́, paratam.*

Quod Vanum *eſt, ſperno ; quod Chriſti* Gratia *præbet*
Amplecti ſtudium eſt : Virtutis Gloria *merces.*

THough *clogg'd with* weights *of miſeries,*
Palm-*like* Depreſs'd, *I higher riſe.*

And as th'unmoved Rock out-brave's
The boiſt'rous Winds *and raging* Waves ;

So triumph I. *And ſhine more* bright
In ſad Afflictions darkſom night.

That Splendid, *but yet* toilſom *Crown*
Regardleſly I trample *down.*

With joy I take this Crown of Thorn,
Though ſharp, *yet* eaſie to be born.

That heav'nly *Crown, already mine,*
I view *with* eyes *of Faith divine.*

I ſlight vain *things ; and do embrace*
Glory, *the juſt reward of* Grace.

G. D.

Τὸ Χῖ ἐδὲν ἐδίκησε τλῶ πόλιν, ἐδὲ τὸ Κάππα.

I. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have always thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, and best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetful of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings, and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in My self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning zeal by such rules

of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſs of My own Heart toward My Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My own and My Childrens Intereſts gave Me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporal bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honor and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen My ſelf in ſome things of My wonted Prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies alſo: exceeding even the deſires of thoſe, that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The *odium* and offences which ſome mens rigor or remiſneſs in Church, and State, had contracted upon My Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſs in practiſe, but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled, and preſerved in

Truth,

Truth, Unity, and Order, then My ſelf; whom it moſt concerns both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform, what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſs; and to grant whatever My Reaſon and Conſcience told Me, was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept My ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own Judgement to have been overborn in ſome things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; My confidence had leſs betrayed My ſelf, and My Kingdoms, to thoſe advantages, which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our ſins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice, from reaping that glory in Our Calamities, which We robb'd him of in Our Proſperity.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not always ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſins have overlaid our hopes; Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us, how unſafe it is

to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, Thou givest us cause to repent of those remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy glory, and my peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my people the benefit of our afflictions, & thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staff may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my people, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our peace could be with our sins.

O thou soveraign goodness and wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all

our

our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy juſtice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy war, ſo let this war prepare us for thy bleſſed peace.

That although I have but troubleſom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy ſervant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours ſake, Amen.

II. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him, in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphear, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My judgement approve

all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any height and rigor of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſs in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the buſineſs of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unſatisfiedneſs in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told Me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people, I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed Me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſs of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſign of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinful frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſom.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have ſuffered, with My people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſign that deſtructive BILL, according to that Juſtice, which My conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankful importunities with ſo cruel a favor. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſign that Bill, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more than they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me, not to conſent againſt the vote of My own Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the ſinful raſhneſs of that buſineſs.

To which being in My ſoul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach

Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Juſtice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain alike conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Buſineſs.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in My affairs, againſt the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſs I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Straffords* greatneſs and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamors *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, and do as they would have

have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs and regret I finde in My ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publique miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath been ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe My own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy, or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltineſs, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſs.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me with that precious effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.

Teach me to learn Righteouſneſs by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailty in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamors, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt my Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſin againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Judge of our Conſciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of

Reaſon,

Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion; which ſhines in my Soul, for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſsions.

Lord hear the voyce of thy Sons, and my Saviors Blood, which ſpeaks better things; and make me, and my People, to hear the voyce of Joy and Gladneſs, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

III. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea, and many of my friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſs of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legal Tryal, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawful cor-

correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroyl My Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief Contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publique Peace, which to preſerve by calling in queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all My deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed My ſuſpitions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any Malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſs: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen,

as

as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were My followers at that time ſhort of My ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at My coming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon Me, if I had none with Me to preſerve a reverence to Me; For many people had (at that time) learn'd to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſum of that buſineſs was this:

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after unavoidable Judgement, which ſhall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavored to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I foreſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done

to

to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all My deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witneſs in heaven, and in my heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſsion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickedneſs in my thoughts.

Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honor in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſs, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſin, in that matter: more then their impunity among good men, is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſs, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy ſervant from the privy conſpiracies,

and

and open violence of bloody and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſs of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintain my right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy ſervant may ever rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

IV. *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our ſins) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſchiefs which have followed, then thoſe Tumults in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, ſoon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a ſtorm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earthquake, ſhaking the very foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the moſt convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power ſets bounds to the raging of the Sea: ſo 'tis no leſs, that he reſtrains the madneſs of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, then when he ſuffers the confluence and clamors of the vulgar, to paſs all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of Inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houſes, menacing, reproaching, ſhaking, yea, and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancyed,

ed, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague, but a quoditian Feaver, always encreasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears, which some men scared themselves and others withal; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and less to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and over-awe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with Reason and Candor) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleased to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharge their Consciences must be subdued: By these all factious, seditious, and schismatical Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most minde to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults: whose ryot and impatience was such, that they would

would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſs befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancyed.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the publique good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſuitable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when

they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſs moſt formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſs could be obtained with any vigor and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged, and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honors.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſs, when I found ſuch a deafneſs, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foully inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other

other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My ſelf could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſs and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity, for any man for popular terrors to deſert his publique ſtation. But I think it a hardineſs, beyond true valor, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence) God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My ſelf in ſo many par-

ticulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is My ſole Judge, is My Witneſs in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of My Place and Perſon, the ſafety of My Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſs and petulancy.

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſs of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members

Members of both Houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all Reaſon, Honor, and Religion, they ſhould have been, I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſs content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian Concourſes to publique Councels, turning all into Diſorders and ſordid Confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vicious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdom moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſs of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I look upon my sins, and the sins of my people, (which are the tumults of our souls against thee, O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loyalty, Modesty, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appear, and after didst assuage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver me from the rudeness and strivings of the Multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedams of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians; so shall we praise thy Name, who art the God of order and counsel.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy Omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly executed, and to our schisms by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, *a City at unity in it self.*

This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christs sake, Amen.

V. *Upon*

V. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy succes of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other design, but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the BILL for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work with convenient recesses for the first three years; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some means fears, and compass publique affairs; I was perswaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this

Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent Jealouſies, and future Miſtakes; I confeſs I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparalleld by any of My Predeceſſors; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit, that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire advantages of doing good, or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My intereſt lies more than any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a KING, would be preſerved no leſs than My Subjects; which is all I deſired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſs the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act: and many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly

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ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in Men of Honors, That the more I granted them, the leſs I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by My largeſt conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſs Me with increaſe of it: when Men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſs prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe (as I think) not more princely, then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſs; who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honor, and love to Me, or My Poſterity, as may fully compenſate both the acts of My confidence and My ſufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to Men, that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſs.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load Me withal; as if I were a wilful and reſolved Occaſioner of My own and My Subjects Miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falſly divulge) I repining at the

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establishment of this Parliament, endeavored by force and open hostility to undo what by My Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extream fatuity of minde in Me, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries; yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favors, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly setled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more, then that My self and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condescendings.

It

It had been a Course full of sin, as well as of Hazard, and dishonor for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sincerity and uprightness of My own heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seem less a Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting some men go up to the Pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by ways of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds than this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch good-

ness

neſs of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflexions upon it as a ſin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judgement: Onely I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evil, becauſe Mine were good.

To thee (O my God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitful darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to my Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſsing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of My beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others fears, I have raiſed mine own; and by ſetling them, have unſetled my ſelf.

Thus have they requited me evil for good, and hatred for my good will towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor my making any other, with that ſafety and honor which I deſigned.

Tis

Tis easie for thee to keep me safe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon me, as to be able to pervert and and abuse my acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favors from me can make others more guilty then my self may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on me.

I beseech thee give me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon my offences against thee.

So, although by my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

VI. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WIth what unwillingness I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victual, are forced by Sea to a storm; yet better

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do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by ſhame more than fear; to ſee the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſs to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of Our Reaſon and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or Reaſon concluſive to My judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kinde; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the general good of My People. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldom of one minde; and I may oft ſee, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſs had not learned to thirſt the more, by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bounty was able to over-

overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councell, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terror as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuary Patrons shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rational soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blinde and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a

good

good Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publique; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My ſelf, as King, or the Houſe of Peers with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoin them to paſs. I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point, by My Governing onely by ſuch Laws, as My People with the Houſe of Peers have Choſen, and My ſelf conſented to. I ſhall never think My ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honor, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonor and abſurdity they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinion, activeneſs, weakneſs, or wilfulneſs, and what they call Obſtinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rude-

neſs,

neſs, and importunate detruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Error and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavors to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſs of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meer force to carry on the weakneſs of their Councels, and Propoſals. I may, in the truth and uprightneſs of My heart, proteſt before God and Men, that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denyed any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houſes, further then I thought in good Reaſon I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe Me more, then when My judgment ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea, in many things where not abſolute and moral neceſſity of Reaſon, but temporary convenience on point of Honor was to be conſidered, I choſe rather to deny My ſelf, then them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for My peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My ſelf.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Intereſts, and Perſonal Rights, of which I conceive My ſelf to be Maſter; but in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any man gain My conſent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lye; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conſcience I denyed before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Savior, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſs ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when in ſtead of Reaſon, and Publique concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of parties, and flows from the partialities of private Wills and Paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to prefer His Conſcience before His Kingdoms.

O my God, preſerve thy ſervant in this Native, Rational and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we ſhould maintain: who, though thou doſt juſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings and wills to thine; whoſe wiſdom and goodneſs can neither erre, nor miſguide us,

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and ſo far to deny our carnal reaſon, in order to thy ſacred Myſteries, and commands, that we ſhould believe and obey rather then diſpute them; yet doſt thou expect from us, onely ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, againſt our conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touchſtone of Reaſon and Laws, which are the rules of Civil Juſtice, and to declare our conſents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at preſent did call me.

My people can witneſs how far I have been content for their good, to deny my ſelf, in what thou haſt ſubjected to my diſpoſal.

O Let not the unthankful importunities, and tumultuary violence of ſome mens Immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make me ſtrengthen them by my conſent in thoſe things which I think in my conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of my ſubjects, and the diſcharge of my own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities, and injuries they preſs upon me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt my conſcience.

Let the juſt liberties of my people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair, and equal ways, without the ſlavery of my ſoul.

Thou that haſt inveſted me by thy favors, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer me not to ſubject my reaſon to other mens paſsions, and deſigns, which to me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſs of my heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk always uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Juſtice, for theſe, I know, will bring me at laſt to peace and happineſs with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours ſake.

VII. *Upon the queens departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandal of that neceſſity, which drives Her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the ſame Tragedy which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being

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ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Maners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firm to their former ſetled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorry My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of Her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſs and barbarity knows not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelf. The fault is, that She is My Wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands Me, to ſtudy Her Security, who is onely in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as She may be in ſafe Harbor.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by Her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonal dangers, that I can periſh

but half, if She be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopeful Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My blood.

I muſt leave Her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſs ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

Tis pity ſo noble and peaceful a ſoul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſs of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make Her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtars in the darkeſt nights: and aſſure the envious world, that She loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindeneſs of the Generality, and Vulgar; for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty,

bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge, who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſs endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactors as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that policy of My enemies is ſo far venial, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanor, to ſeek to drive her out of My Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſs I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My ſelf.

Thou, O Lord, whoſe Juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter us, let thy Mercy, in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however, bring us both at laſt, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preſerve us from the hands of our deſpiteful and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our ſufferings for thy preſence.

Though we differ in ſome things, as to Religion, (which is my greateſt temporal infelicity) yet Lord

give, and accept the ſincerity of our affections, which deſire to ſeek, to finde, to embrace every truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy ſelf, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldſt have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our ſouls eternal good, and make us careful to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, nor unbelief, or diſobedience to what we know, be our miſery or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of thoſe my Subjects, which profeſs the ſame Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any truth thou wouldſt have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any error thou wouldſt have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens conſtancy, be an Antidote againſt the poyſon of their example.

Let the truth of that Religion I profeſs, be repreſented to her judgement, with all the beauties of humility, loyalty, charity, and peaceableneſs: which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious diſguiſes of levity, ſchiſm, hereſie, novelty, cruelty, and diſloyalty, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving truths, as thine, that ſhe may believe, love and obey them as thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſs of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſs of thy truth ſhe may ſee thee,

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in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory, and greatnes in our scatterings and eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honors, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

VIII. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the Loss of My Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected Me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My self: nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after

to overſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſs.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyal undertakers, That bad actions muſt always be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun, then not carried on: for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men: whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother then oyl, but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it My beſt policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſſion tranſported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing, unbeſeeming My ſelf, or unſutable to that temper, which, in greateſt injuries, I think, beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed, I deſire always more to remember I am a Chriſtian, then a King: for what the Majeſty of one might juſtly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear: what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſs all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſs injures a man, more then his greateſt enemies can:

for

for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherways cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it strange, that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family, is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weal. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country;

try: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo far pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope many other men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſs, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion: which ſo darkens their judgement, that they cannot ſee any thing of Sin and Rebellion in thoſe means, they uſe, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes Me more pity him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty to Me, He ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favor of Me.

For

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy, but onely prayers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous diſloyalty, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign, carries always its own vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatal, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt Imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*: though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans Honor, as wilful preparations of unworthy actions: which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to poſterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it, for his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me: ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſsion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more than the ſin againſt thee.

Thou

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavor of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands: that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy and truth, meeting together:

gether: Let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſs and peace, kiſsing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake; who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Son Jeſus Chriſt to dye for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

IX. *Upon the Liſting, and Raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Finde that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced Me to leave *Whitehall:* what Tumults could not do, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſs hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may, as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conqueror, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before any outward tranquility.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince Me? O My Soul! be of good courage, they confeſs their known weakneſs, as to Truth and Juſtice, who

who chose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING, but by My Sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choyce for a King, that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after Seventeen years living and Reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envyed? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsel of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others, envying the Publique should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of My self either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My Lust, Anger, or Covetousness? What Widows or Orphans tears can witness against Me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any respect of Persons.

In

In vain is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of Words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied, to ſee what Ground of Juſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnatural a motion: which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſs of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily finde, or make cauſes of quarrel) then any real obſtructions of publique Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My own Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to believe Me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *Whitehall*, to ſee if I could allay the Inſolency of the Tumults, (the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but onely to oppreſs both Mine and the Two Houſes freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, That what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the

partiality of their tryal, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to publique *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences: I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages,

or

or preſence: the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſs; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſs againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſs, and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary ways, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary mindes to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſs of the Biſhops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by far the major part of Lords? Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtom, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like maner, as the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamors, and ſchiſmatical Terrors, which could never paſs, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reaſon, Ju-

ſtice and Religion, My conſcience forbids Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard My own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by My Defence; or proſtrate My Conſcience to the blinde obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and anciently Univerſal Government of the Church, by Biſhops.

Which if other mens judgements binde them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in My judgement, have alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My Conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath, or can befal Me; in as much as the leaſt ſin hath more evil in it, then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopal Faction at firſt in this point, with My Conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſtical Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetouſneſs, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.

That

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honor for My sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot add My consent for the total extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolical; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civil Favor, and priviledge of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from

preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorably and Effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honor and Freedom, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being My neceſſity driving, the other My choyce deſiring.

But ſome men know, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy, which I carried with Me, which would never fit their deſigns: and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext, of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My ſelf, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reaſon and Honor, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould,

ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequel ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any original difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopal, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number; or elſe they were meerly conſequential, and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſs of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to My beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſign, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God knows) as far

from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I do not think My Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My Prayer to him.

For thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design or preparation to embroyl my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witness how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroy my People.

O Lord,

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me: but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the War, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miſerable War; ſince thou, O Lord, knoweſt my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their days, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counſels.

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.

Ariſe, O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more: Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, either to deſtroy my Perſon, or force my Judgement, and to make me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am

I am driven to croſs Davids *choyce and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruel) then into thy hands, by ſinning againſt my Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire: better they deſtroy me, then thou ſhouldſt damn me.*

Be thou ever the defence of my ſoul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will ſatisfie my Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal Juſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the Blood of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Juſtice will finde not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal plenary ſatisfaction, both for my ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my Death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father! for they know not what they do.

X. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyal hearts that durſt onely pray for Me, at firſt, might witneſs, which yet appear not

ſo

ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Me; My unpreparedneſs for a War may well diſhearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingneſs to fight, yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My ſelf, or to preſerve what is Mine own from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt Me, and ſurpriſals of My ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others Numbers and Terrors. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparedneſs to aſſert My Rights and Honor, makes Me the more guilty in their eſteem; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew My chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe onely, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Soldier, yet to Suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing My Caſtles, Forts, Arms and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for Me, that it may drive Me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt My ſelf into the protection of the

living

living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſal of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew Me the ſpecial ſupport of his Power and Protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia, ſo much in reference to My own protection, as My Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve Me, I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take, to reſolve their Riddle of making Me a glorious King, by taking away My Kingly Power: Thus I ſhall become a Support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, by being unable to Succor the one, or Suppreſs the other.

For thus have they deſigned, and propoſed to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of power, or without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience: That the Majeſty of the Kings of *England*, might hereafter hang, like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and

now

now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraign Power in Subjects, ſeldom agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant Militia, ſought, by ſatisfying their fears, and importunities, both to ſecure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving My ſelf of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the Militia (which is My undoubted Right no leſs than the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to My ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and My People: If I had the ſole actual diſpoſing of the Militia, I could not protect My People, further than they protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the Militia is mutual. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evil merits and deſigns, will needs perſwade the world, That none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed againſt Me and Them! that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a

way,

way, as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine, as to the exerciſe of the Militia, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to Poſterity, ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honor and Juſtice due to My Succeſſors, forbid Me to yield to ſuch a total alienation of that Power from them, which civility and duty (no leſs then Juſtice and Honor) ſhould have forbade them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypſe My own beams, to ſatisfie their fears; who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted Me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity, and ſucceeding Kings: whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future; ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtracti-

ons,

ons, which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eyes to foreſee; ſo they will finde it hath more mouths too, which muſt be ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where Councel may be in many as the Senſes, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My inforced darkneſs and Eclypſe (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me) they will at length more eſteem and welcom the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by My receding ſo much from the uſe of My Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which I am ſworn for My Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeem) who compel Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging My truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting My Subjects, by expoſing My ſelf to danger or diſhonor, for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War, and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yielding; to which the greateſt love of the publique Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance

of

of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsful) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Conſciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For My ſelf, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential neceſſity is pleaſed to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquility and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for Me; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compenſate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honor, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himſelf can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Arms and Militia, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Caſtles, all flight by Sea in My Ships, and Navy; yea, though they ſtudy to rob Me of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of My own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct My way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the loss of all, be thou more than all to me: Make haste to succor me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayst be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distress. O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my Soul!

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject, and justly mayst thou, by my own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclypse my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-ſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindeneſs, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſs me, from my deadly enemies that compaſs me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

XI. *Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My own ſafety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, ſave onely the parting with My Conſcience and Honor. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged

with

with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating My Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My ſoul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I ſee nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of grateful exchange of Honor; or any requital for thoſe favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reſerve to My ſelf the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſs nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Me, and while I have any Maſtery of My Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yielding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken My outward ſtate of a King; as wound that inward quiet of My Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be

(by Gods grace) dearer to Me then My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policy are at ſome time to be denied, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde My ſelf to a general and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſs of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdom, as he doth in place and power.

This were, as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtines* might with the more ſafety mock and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, ſeems an arrogancy, leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their Addreſſes in an humble and loyal way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſs their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with

with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superior thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reaſon, to Conſent, or Diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reaſon as a Man, and in Honor as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine My Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a minde to ask, whoſe mindes may be as differing from Mine both in Reaſon and Honor, as their aims may be, and their qualities are: which laſt, God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making Me their Soveraign, and them My Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent Oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary Impoſitions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King, in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aim to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me truſt to their moderation, and abandon Mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of My own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſel of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of My ſelf, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the So-

veraignty of Reaſon in My Soul, and the Majeſty of My own Crown to any of My Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit, or do refuſe and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how yong States-men (the moſt part) of theſe propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed Me, how well they can Govern themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from Me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithful in My Truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government, wholly out of My own into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whoſe forwardneſs to aſcend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to be My Counſellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command My Duty.

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Laws, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlaid by the corruption of maners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigor and due execution; or ſome evil cuſtoms preterlegal,

and

and abuſes perſonal had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by My ſelf, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly induce Me to condeſcend to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelf, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, binde Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which 'tis impoſſible to preſerve My People according to My Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſs in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſal practiſe of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial piety, but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons, both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſs and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kindes, or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Laws diſ-joynted, which are to be reſtored; of any Right invaded; of any Juſtice to be unobſtructed; of any Compenſations to be made; of any impartial Reformation to be granted: To all, or any of which, Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great Novelty, or Difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſms in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Laws againſt them: and a total extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in which thoſe are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomly.

Nor do I ſo much wonder at the variety and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts Me into, not an Admiration, but an Extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune

to

to be propounded in the Name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England:* Among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgements free, ſingle, and apart, did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remains in far the major part of both Houſes (if free, and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption, the Government, and the miſ-Government, the Primitive Paterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no Reaſon(as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the Piety of their Reforming Progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulity (believing that all is good, which is gilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgement, to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humor; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular Clamors and Tumults: which ſerved to give life

life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudyed with all diligence and policy, to improve to their Innovating deſigns, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My judgement, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded with Armies of Soldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their Number and Power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other, than the Hounds that attend the Cry and Hollow of thoſe men, who hunt after Factious and private Deſigns, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgment tell Me, That the Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have Charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them; and Humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo

'tis

'tis fit I ſhould uſe their Advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a compleatneſs and inerrability, as to exclude My ſelf; ſince none of them hath that Part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honor to preſerve, as My ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſs of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavor very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the Name of Reformation; (which in My two laſt famous Predeceſſors days, heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſs of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice and judgement.

Not

Not that I am ignorant, how the choyce of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countreys; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Me, My Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids Me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſs doth Reaſon, Honor and Safety both of Church and State command Me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down: If the ſtraitneſs of My Conſcience will not give Me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do of Sacriledge and Injuſtice both to God and Man, they have no more cauſe to quarrel with Me, than for this, That My throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſs, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew My Negative Power, ſhall have any byaſs upon My judgement, to make Me gratifie My Will, by denying any thing which My Reaſon and Conſcience commands Me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more than Reaſon, Juſtice, Honor, and Religion perſwade Me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, My peoples Welfare, and My own Peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie My Parliament, and My People; but I will never, for fear or flattery,

tery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever: for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſs the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving Me, that free, and faithful counſel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the counſel of that mighty Counſellor, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline My heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternal Reaſon, whoſe wiſdom is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy ſervant firſt with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice, in my underſtanding: then ſo confirm my will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppreſſions of my enemies may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in my conſcience.

Thou never madeſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſs than a Man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and injuſtice, they deny that freedom to me their KING, *which thou haſt given to all men; and which themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to them-*

themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.

To thee I make My ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through thy perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens propoſals; which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own ſinful paſsions cloud, or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happy to pleaſe thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdom of the world fooliſhneſs, and takeſt in their own devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits; make me wiſe by thy Truth, for thy honor, my Kingdoms general good, and my own ſouls ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The leſs wiſdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of croſneſs, or humor; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well bless honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me careful of those solemn Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weal.

The less others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though mine own, and my peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more master than my self.

XII. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy

remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall finde the malicious Author or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out, as a moſt unhappy advantage to ſome mens malice againſt Me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to My charge, this bloody opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to Me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to My ſelf, and deſtructive to My Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, That what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with My privity (at leaſt) if not by My Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, That it is no news for ſome of My Subjects to fight, not onely without My Commiſſion, but againſt My Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſs of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But

But whoever fail of their Duty toward Me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honor My Enemies have always done Me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Me, nor competent tryals, either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of My affliction; Charging Me not onely with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonor by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world, the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick Monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and blood of My own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare My Intereſt lies, as much as ſome mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot do well, but in evil times, nor ſo cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, That the prepoſterous rigor, and unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-

diſpoſed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where deſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the natural deſires of liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigors, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth waſh My hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in My Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo far, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſigns they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe Tears and Blood might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civil Diſſentions and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſs affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate, then My ſelf: I offered to go My ſelf in Perſon upon that expedition; But

But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdom quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here, leſs then My ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of My deſtruction, but themſelves. Had My many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the Ruine had been ſo great, nor the Calamity ſo long, nor the Remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be; who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick Diſſentions, or diverted the Ayds, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all Extremities, not onely to the known Heads, and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſual plea's for Mercy, which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* ſons,

which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremites, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon the ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kinde of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmneſs; and had rather be cruel then counted cold, and is not ſeldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficial, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable ſuccors of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborn with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſs by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knows with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſs, by perſons of Honor and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in My Reputation and Honor, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt Me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let blood, than to ſtench it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulity in men to what is falſe and evil, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above Me, ſo I can have comfort to appeal to his omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny My Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo far to try My Patience, as he did his ſervant *Job's*.

I have enough to do, to look to My own Conſcience, and the faithful diſcharge of My Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a fornace; Much leſs

to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſs, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience, as bad as My worſt Enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill do better than they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

I believe it will at laſt appear, That they who firſt began to embroyl My other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not-timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My Enemies pleaſe to ſay or think) I look upon, as that of My other Kingdoms, exhauſted out of My own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as My ſelf: And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the Mercy of God will at length ſay to his Juſtice, *It is enough*; and command the Sword of Civil Wars to ſheath it ſelf: his merciful Juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure; the abatement of our ſins, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored. Thou

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſs we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of error and bitterneſs, of mutual and mortal hatred to ariſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered, ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſs of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſins, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſins be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviours blood drown our ſins, and through this red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subjects ſufferings; ſo give me ſuch a pious

ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian Kign, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſsion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſsiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the ways of thy ſaving truths, whoſe ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles; which they act, under an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy juſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed, or fomented thoſe cruel and deſperate Wars.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious; Thou that hadſt pity on Niniveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſs makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.*

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the fornace of thy ſevere juſtice, a Poſterity, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.

And deal with me, not according to mans unjuſt

juſt reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired, or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms calamities; if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavored the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody diſtractions; Then let thy hand be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe. O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my conſcience did not witneſs my integrity, which thou O Lord knoweſt right well: But I truſt not to my own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

XIII. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpecial and late obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many, to prefer the deſires of that Party, before My own Intereſt and Honor. But, I ſee, Royal bounty emboldens ſome men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modeſty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or in-

inconſtancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may ſo prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which deſign and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the divine Juſtice: I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and croſneſs of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that Form which they cry up, as the onely juſt Reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſsfully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant humors in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſign now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For, it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conform to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings, both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive litle ſatisfaction in theſe points, which are maintained rather by Soldiers fighting in the Field, than Scholars diſputing in free and learned Synods. Sure,

Sure, in matters of Religion, thoſe Truths gain moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemns mens obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being always bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely becauſe that Party of the *Scots* will needs by Force aſſiſt a like Party here, either to drive all Miniſters, as ſheep, into the common fold of Presbytery, or deſtroy them; at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* ſole Presbytery were proved to be the onely inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove, that Chriſt had given thoſe *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Commiſſion by the Sword to ſet it up in any of My Kingdoms, without My conſent.

What reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtles pay'd to the chief Governors of States, where they lived, is very clear in the Goſpel; but that he or they ever commanded to ſet up ſuch a parity of Presbyters, and in ſuch a way as thoſe *Scots* endeavor, I think is not very diſputable.

If

If Presbytery, in such a supremacy, be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others, and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusions run in a stream, so contrary to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens: sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of covetousness or ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move Me with, by their many Solemn obtestations, and pious threatnings, but onely this, To represent to Me, the wonderful necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders, that any Sects, Schisms or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patern, set up their ways by the like methods of violence? All which Presbytery seeks to suppress, and render odious under those Names; when Wise and Learned men think, That nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism,

Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universal way of the Church-Government, and specially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I see more Rational and Religious motives, then Soldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the success of all to God, who hath many ways (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those Rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think My self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above Mine own; and the Salvation of mens Souls, above the Preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavor to cast the Churches under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or settle My Religion, nor any mans else, who

who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is Force; the Arbitrator of Beasts, not of reasonable Men, much less of humble Christians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of duty and gratitude to Me, than I wondred, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods Cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some Divine Revelation: considering they were more then competently furnished with My Subjects Arms and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People: What cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their Assistance, others of them soon after

are

are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk-Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the Succeſs of ſo chargeable, more then charitable Aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed, at a far cheaper rate, the Truth and Happineſs of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom, for their Advice in a full and free Synod: which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods Juſtice, and Mans Folly, will at length be diſcovered, through all the films and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſigns: In vain do men hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make Bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me; ſo, I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpair of their return; when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience, which they have to Me,

Me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſs to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honor for their own advantages: However, the leſs cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhal apply My ſelf to *God.*

The troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my diſtreſs.

Lord, direct thy ſervant in the ways of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail againſt my ſoul, to the betraying of my Conſcience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſs purſue him.*

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſs in me, and I ſhall not deſpair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe; and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O my God, I truſt in thee: let me not be aſhamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be ashamed who transgress without a cause: let them be turned back that persecute my Soul.

Let integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

XIV. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought, chiefly to batter or raze Episcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a Charm and Exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times, till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a yong Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men

go

go away with the Revenues) all Art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*, which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant(ſome referring to My ſelf with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a maner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oathes and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſs, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no clear Moral neceſſity, but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oathes can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement and certainty in ones ſelf, or that charity and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires: which never refuſes fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oathes upon People, muſt needs in things doubtful, be dangerous, as in things unlawful, damnable; and no leſs ſuperfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements, bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, To maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in

the Church of *England*: ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid ſnares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politique and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the popularity faſt to their Parties, under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws to God and Man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without My conſent, and without any like power or preſident from God or Mans Laws, be ever thought, by judicious men, ſufficient, either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe Moral and Eternal bonds of duty, which lie upon all My Subjects conſciences, both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawful ways; ſince I have the charity to think, That the chief end of the Covenant, in ſuch mens intentions, was, To preſerve Religion in Purity, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then ſuch ends and means, they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe that have any true touches of Conſcience, endeavor to carry on the beſt deſigns, (much leſs ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means, under that

that Title of the *Covenant*: unleſs they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized Novelties, before their known and ſworn Duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believe, and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That ſuch later Vows, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawful Oathes were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerful Perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Piety, are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſigns againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion and Laws; which by ſuch ſcrews are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſs ſenſible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to comply with the humors of thoſe men, who aym to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then Force attends and twiſts them: For every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods word,

or the Laws of the Land, but onely the ſubtilty and terror of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments, they finde the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegal ways ſeldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſign intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, the diverſe or contrary; with any Salvo's, Cautions and Reſervations, ſo as they croſs not the chief Deſign, which is laid againſt the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party; So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love Me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all Piety and Loyalty: who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in caſe

caſe they wholly refuſed it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome general clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavoring what lawfully they may,* in *their Places and Callings,* and *according to the Word of God:* For, theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters,* would keep themſelves within thoſe lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſs of taking it: which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawful Authority at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond, and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publique Peace: Againſt which, no mans lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partial advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers,

as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former Judgements, Profeſſion and Practice) ſuch foul ſcandals and ſuſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches*, abroad, nor by any men of learning and candor, at home: all whoſe judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens, now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than My ſelf, to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartial advice) be, by Gods Word, and right Reaſon, convinced to be amiſs: I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequel of ſome mens actions makes it evident, That the main Reformation intended, is, The abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legal Rights, than the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſms, Hereſies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth*'s Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to dye. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compaſs, by which Factious men

ſteer

ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with My Conſent) ſo I have always had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predeceſſors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaoh*'s divinity, and *Joſeph*'s true piety, abhorred to do: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red-ſea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteems it His greateſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apoſtacy.*

I had

I had rather live as My Predeceſſor *Henry* 3. ſometime did, on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam*'s reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which, how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſs than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs, whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin, not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are ways enough to repair the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not

not be an Oppreſſor of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occaſions contracting them, were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them, would be much worſe; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addreſs my prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſs of my Subjects ſwearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretenſions of Piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge, under the Zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not ſacrilegious deſigns to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy ſervant from conſenting to perjurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity, of robbing thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though

Though my Treasures are exhausted, my Revenues diminished, and my Debts encreased, yet never suffer me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience, as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church, all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousness, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottenness to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.*

Break

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues, who have bandyed together againſt the Church and State, that the folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favor my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

XV. *Upon the many Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the* KING, *to ſtir up the people againſt Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſs the Truth; and by Jealouſies to ſupply the defect of Real cauſes, which might ſeem to juſtifie ſo unjuſt Engagements againſt Me.

And indeed, the worſt effects of open Hoſtility come ſhort of theſe Deſigns: For I can more willingly loſe My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms ſo dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honor.

Thoſe muſt have a period with My life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kinde of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating

ſecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe foul and falſe aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſin and danger of My peoples ſouls, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpitions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not onely not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Deſtroyers; Imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honor their King.

I thank God, I never found, but My pity was above My anger; nor have My paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude My moſt compaſſionate prayers for them, whom devout errors, more than their own malice, have betrayed to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of My Subjects fought againſt My ſuppoſed Errors, not My Perſon; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered

ſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved Me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better ſervice, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyal injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſs of a few, with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of My Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My ſelf; our welfares being inſeparable; in this onely they ſuffer more then My ſelf, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers, to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflictions grieve

Me

Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foreſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine, then Rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happineſs; if it could expiate, or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonorably to betray My own juſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My Enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague, and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Lyars need have good memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew. My

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of, or remember what they ſay or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puniſhed by their own evil maners, and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I believe, in a ſhorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe Scandals which they have caſt on Me; and make the world ſee, There is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility (I need not ſay Loyalty) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit and reputation, even with the People, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame fornace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of Infamy, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honor.

Firſt, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect, and ſearch My own Innocency, then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular Piety: For this gave to vulgar mindes ſo bad a reflection upon Me and My Cauſe, as if it had

been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withal part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded, That theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyal to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange, that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lye for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſs of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſs of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens judgements, muſt be made up by their clamors and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion, to ſcandalize Me and Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more tryal of his grace,

grace, as to the constancy of My Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any Exception I am so lyable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion; whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me and My People.

Contrary to those well-tryed foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments, in the most calm and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall have ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of some Papists, which were My Subjects, any way fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it; especially those, who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may

easily fall out, where there is the sameness of duty, Allegiance and Subjection. The first they own as Men and Christians, to God; the second they owe to Me in Common, as their KING: different professions in point of Religion, cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who finde most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more than is lawful for any King, in such exigents, to use the ayd of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professors; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects, as Men, no less then their prayers, as Christians.

The

The noise of My Evil Counsellors was another useful device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels, but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man, or honor, as a King; making their counsels more like a drench, that must be poured down, than a draught, which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errors and frailties, My self, or My Counsellors: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such, as were far more repairable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things, at last, will make it evident to My Subjects, That had I followed the worst counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redress, what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amiss; and this I thought

I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were ſorry to ſee Me prone even to injure My ſelf, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Conceſſions; and withal, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended Perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloryed among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My Peoples affections from Me, to their deſigns, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

If the divineſt Liberty be, to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according Reaſon, Laws and Religion, I envy not My Subjects that Liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me, ſo prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on

the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous Designs, over the Ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Menacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth his rule and direction; losing justly his Safety, while he seeks an unreasonable Liberty.

Time will best inform My Subjects, That those are the best preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, That it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-Subjects Liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such Musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (attended with humility and meekness, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the onely King of mens

Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſs and patience they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publique Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods Providence, as well as their own Merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentiful Eſtates they got and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungrateful Inſolences of My People.

For Mine Honor, I am well aſſured, That as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; ſo My reputation ſhall, like the Sun, (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendor, as thoſe feral Birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than thoſe whom God

God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And, who knows but the juſt and merciful God will do Me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe, and evil ſpeeches againſt Me: wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, than what they believe or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honor, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) than thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetful of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evil of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are honored with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, ſhould not Honor their KING.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom, all the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may, without ſin, ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veils be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majeſty.

Thou,

Thou, O Lord, knowest my reproach, and my dishonor, my adversaries are all before thee.

My soul is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest my enemies prevail against me, and lay mine honor in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirsty, and deceitful men.

Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may bless them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished, when by thy judgements on* David *he might seem to justifie his disdainful reproaches; Give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evil-ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer, for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience, and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches*, Rabſhekah's *railing*, *and* Shimei's *curſing*, *provoke*, *as my humble prayer to thee*, *ſo thy renewed bleſsing toward me.*

Though they curſe, do thou bleſs, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſsing to my people.

That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave me from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

XVI. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the Name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain

gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, muſt needs undo whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſs.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People, than to tell them, They ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Forms of conſtant Prayers, muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or maner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſs of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober and learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought

thought it a part of piety, to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*: and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the maner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt, but that wholesom words being known, and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of Prayer, since he prays to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words?

words: our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original patern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought, that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſſions, in Publique prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, than that which they call Coldneſs and Barrenneſs: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſs ſubject to formal and ſuperficial tempers (as to their hearts) than in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the moſt extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer and devotion, than un-premeditated and confuſed variety, to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions;

fions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe, with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, imform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſs, impertineney, rudeneſs, confuſions, flatneſs, levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſs, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe, burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a maner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent

quent performance, as Sacramental administrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of Publique compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions, when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies, not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſs, order and gravity becoming thoſe duties, which by this means are expoſed at every celebration, to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders and defects, both for judgement and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church, unavoidably following every mans ſeveral maner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publique compoſure.

The want of which, I believe, this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errors, ſchiſms, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abet thoſe innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion

Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publique Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partial ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service-book; or refuſed to uſe it, cryed out of the rigor of Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity, as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-prayer-Book publiquely, although their conſciences binde them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawful conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humors moſt pretended conſcientious liberties; which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe

abilities, even in other extemporary way, comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to diſpleaſe ſome Faction of the People, by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believe they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than thoſe are, whoſe weakneſs or giddineſs they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to ſay *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their own Forms, in ſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their onely puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of ſound and wholeſom words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed

bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denyeſt us not a new and freſh ſence of our old and daily wants, nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſsions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is always the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or maner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Error conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity and or-

der, under this fallacy, That conſtancy is the cauſe of formality.

Lord, keep us from formal Hypocriſie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David *and other holy men) in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wiſdom to amend what is amiſs within us, and there will be leſs to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde Zeal, and over-bold devotion.

XVII. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houſes, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, That I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of piety, as policy, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſs he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men, and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have ſo far the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory, to let in or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intruſted by God, and

and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I ſee no reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpition, that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his conſcience.

I muſt now in charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both My judgement is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practice of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarineſs of people, or the factiouſneſs and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſs of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them under ſpecious titles, of *Chriſts Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They muſt give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to believe their pretended

grounds to any new ways: contrary to the full and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbyaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſors, the firſt and beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy patern: That ſince the firſt age, for 1500 years, not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſal practice agreeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-Directions and Examples, are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of well-being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of them, and Apoſtolical conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſs evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe Epiſtles, for the

ſetling

ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power and Authority in them, as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now, not improperly be call'd *Biſhops*, as to the overſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolical Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile, appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpecial dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, until uſe (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name, thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, the honor of (whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all

Chriſtian Chuches (ſubmitting to that ſpecial authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpition or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolical propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power, of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches; which, without all doubt, had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the patern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as from Divine Right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch, who not enduring ſound Doctrine, and clear teſtimonies of all Chuches practice, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers againſt true Epiſcopacy: who, if they be not Traytors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlineſs.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to over-lay and ſmother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers

pers be publique) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical Examples, whereon My judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes, I and My deareſt relations with My Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſal practiſe the beſt commentary; but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeveral orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſm and diviſion, as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom

wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied ſo many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdom and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and injoyed in thoſe times, which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Preſidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counſel and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Alſo to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burthen, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is paternal, not Magiſterial; and wherein not onely the neceſſity of avoiding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to ariſe among equals in power and function; but alſo the differences

rences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Epiſcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppoſitions againſt it: It is well known I have endeavored to ſatisfie My ſelf in what the chief Patrons for other ways can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I finde they have as far leſs of Scripture grounds, and of Reaſon; ſo for examples, and practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholly deſtitute, wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivulet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches, (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affairs rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon, why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops, ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to thoſe Churches at this day, who, Governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately Governed by Biſhops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor

Nor is it any point of wiſdom or charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handful of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandal in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errors in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they and all before them, have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolical: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arrians) have ſtrayed from the Unity and Conformity of the Church, in that point; ever having Biſhops above Preſbyters.

Beſides, the late general approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences: So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oathes and Practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and

againſt

againſt My conſent, have not onely quite cryed down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſtical uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo total change, little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt Enemies to, and Betrayers of their own intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable, or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firm to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reform,

form, whatever the ruſt of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of maners have brought upon it. It being a groſs vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or perſons; which ſeditious and popular principle, and practiſe, all wiſe men abhor.

For thoſe ſecular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honor and Eſtate, which My Predeceſſors, and Chriſtian Princes, in all Countries have annexed to Biſhops and Churchmen; I look upon them, but as juſt rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; alſo enablements to works of Charity and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthenings of their Authority in point of reſpect and obſervance; which in peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governors by the meaſure of their vertues, ſo much, as by that of their Eſtates; Poverty and meanneſs expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes and maners, which perſecuting Times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops, as are moſt worthy of thoſe incouragements, and beſt able to uſe them: if at any time My judgement of men failed, My good intention made My error venial: And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure I had, whoſe learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect;

lect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equal; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for My judgement touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſign or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Soveraign, as ſome men have endeavored to do, againſt all theſe grounds of My Judgement, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more than I do, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other ways: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches, in their infancy and ſolitude; when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches well-

being,

being, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority they had above others; which could not end with their perſons, ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyal paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens mindes againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive Paterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes and Revenues, hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſs ſin, than Sacriledge; or a robbery of GOD (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſs of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me. But

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of Truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins of Sacriledge and Perjury? beſides the many perſonal Injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred, how men pretending to tenderneſs of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, That My Coronation Oath bindes Me to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me (which they urge with ſuch Violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preſerve, and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, That I muſt, and ought to diſpence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which bindes Me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My lot ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very natural and eſſential liberty of

our ſouls; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſomemens ambitious covetouſneſs, and ſacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civil diſſentions, till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhor, as many ways highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion: and whereto, if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonorably give My conſent, yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the Scots in point of Church-Government, be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me, to conſent to the like in My other Kingdoms; for it ſhould be conſidered, that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, and at all times.

If any ſhall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſe, I being now more convinced

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in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been so happy and successful, as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charity and Loyalty, in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect my judgement to be byased or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedness of Opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the maners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whose paterns are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church

affairs ſhould be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgement and Conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſs, and tenderneſs; as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence, to be overborn againſt my Conſcience.

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed, others paſs by, without regard either to pity or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, *yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve, from ſacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporal bleſſings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory. For-

Forgive their ſins and errors, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſsion, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and ſubtile Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand, to all poſterity, of being the firſt Chriſtian KING *in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſsion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whoſe errors I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſs, than expoſe their perſons, and ſacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both me and it from unreaſonable men, whoſe councels have brought forth, and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches Peace, thereby letting in all maner of errors, ſchiſms and diſorders.

O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in thy good time abate the malice, aſſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.

XVIII. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the* KING.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like Men, whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their underſtandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could ſeldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it, having greater confidence of My Reaſon, than My ſword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yield to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelf, nor others, ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expreſſes of My deſires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon, than Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity, to *ſeek peace and enſue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My ſelf with Arms, ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſs I had, ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by

by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I ſought to reſerve was, Mine Honor, and My Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy compoſure; had others applyed themſelves to it with the ſame moderation as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Honor and Conſcience would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences ſo eſſential to My Peoples happineſs, or of ſuch conſequence, as in the leaſt kinde to have hindred My Subjects either ſecurity or proſperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years before ever thoſe demands were made; ſome of which, to deny, I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf, and Favor to My Subjects.

I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage; what is wanting in equity, muſt be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to loſe in war, ſtudied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affairs, where I had leaſt liberty of prudence, having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon Me; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſetling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men,

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whom faction, covetousnes or superstition, had not engaged more, than any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority, to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection; as also to the primitive Apostolical patern, and the practice of the Universal Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softness, and infirmity of minde in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace; and rather lose the Churches honor, than cross some mens Factious humors.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the un-successfulness of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavored no less the restauration of

Peace

Peace to My people, than the preſervation of My own Crowns to My Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condeſcendings, as Arguments of feebleneſs, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtiffneſs, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was, always to ask ſomething, which in reaſon and honor muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of War; endeavoring firſt to make Me deſtroy My ſelf by diſhonorable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſs to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſs, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have always the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſs ſet Me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſign of true valor, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather than to be drawn to produce our own reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſuccesfulneſs of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſs to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſs they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Soldiers, than by Counſellors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo, though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelf: who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians; How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to War?

Condemn us not to our paſsions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.

Clear up our underſtandings, to ſee thy truth, both

in

in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of War we have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace, which onely Chriſt our great Peace-maker can merit.

XIX. *Upon the various events of the War; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy war, have at leaſt, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with Victory, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*; able when he pleaſes to repreſs the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let Me ſee, that I was not wholly forſaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My Cauſe: and thoſe that were with Me, wanted

wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them and Me: Nor were My enemies leſs puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt, but perſonal and private ſins may oft-times over-ballance the Juſtice of Publique engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War, a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and ſtrength, the leſs doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſs can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to My juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Arms.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence, as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects,

were

were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Laws: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Laws and Governors; which can never be ſuch, as ſome ſide or other will not finde fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion againſt them; ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt Me, the Laws, their Oathes, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied onely to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious deſigns by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and My ſelf, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did, through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their Souls.

Their wounds, and temporal ruine, ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happineſs; while the evident approach of death

death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyal fierceneſs could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the Field, but never, I believe, at the bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpitious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them; eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt

gainſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to ſuffer, than to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty; and be as faithful to God and their own ſouls, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavors of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any ſhews, or truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My ſorrow, becauſe it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of my people; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with My Rights, by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed

lieved at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, than to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over My self. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocency forbade Me to fear a War; but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yielded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War; I wiſh onely a happy concluſion, of ſo unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the Divine Juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſins un-ſubdued; fluſhing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſs againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf, and my Enemies, by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes

ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings, which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength, thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when we are nothing; that thou mayeſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knoweſt, how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compel me to inflict upon them, puniſhing my ſelf in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer; I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which onely can be ſufficient for me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed; that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of theſe civil diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm and bleſſed peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up all parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-denial, as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutual diviſions are our common diſtractions,

ſtractions, and the Union of all, is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If, O Lord, as for the ſins of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War; ſo for the ſins of War, thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſsing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy ſervant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſs and grief, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that precious blood, which hath been ſhed for me by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles; for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

XX. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envyed, than that of due Reforming either Church or Sate, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honor Me ſo far, as to make Me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments

first intentions, to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of Maners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion settled, which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular complyance, the passions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order, and Government in the Church; what novelties of Schisms and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in Sacred Administrations; what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Me, have followed (as showres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses, and with My self, sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamors and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publique sense; so that the study to please some Parties, hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation, and Impartiality, are sure the best Tempers of Reforming Councels and endeavors: What is acted by Factions,

ons, cannot but offend more than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion, to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Councels, as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applyed (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affairs, I diſlike not further, than that they are not legally convened and choſen, nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men, cryed up for Learning and Piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which they knew to be of Apoſtolical inſtitution at leaſt; as of Primitive and Univerſal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages; and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common intereſt and honor of

all the Clergy, and in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Laws in force, and My consent, which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Maners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels; and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designs: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of Christs Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdom (which

(which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favored figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but Civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in minde, to thank God, for that clearer light wherein they live; the leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publique ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errors, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five years conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt Principles of Religion.

All theſe, and the like, are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitful Reformations (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the vulgar (who are taken with novel-

ties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, than when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, til due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt, make it their Unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Laws, and long Cuſtoms, would not run into their new moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which, they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make My ſelf, and all My Subjects, fall down and worſhip the Images they ſhould form and ſet up: If there had been as much of Chriſts Spirit, for meekneſs, wiſdom and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name uſed in the pretenſions, to reform all to Chriſts Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods bleſſing, and produced more of Chriſts Glory, the Churches good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unity of Chriſtians.

Publique

Publique Reformers had need first act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others, for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publique Reformations, to such private designs as must needs hinder the publique good.

I am sure the right methods of Reforming the Church, cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; since as I own Mine from him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unless God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkness, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie, suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls.

That we may in clearness of judgement, and uprightness of heart, be a means to reform what is indeed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakness of their judgements, so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations, wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousness, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawful ways shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work. That I and my people may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

XXI. *Upon*

XXI. *Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honor and civility to use it: Nor do I think, with sober and worthy mindes, any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Nobleness, being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations, being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane, than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided

vided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve My own Rights, than to procure their peace and happiness, and that extream grief, to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to see My constancy to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavor to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who loves Me, or the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens design, like *Absaloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury My expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions, yet the Innocency of My chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more than an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honor, not more to My own, than My peo-

ples

ples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters may be convinced, that I can both minde and act, My own and My Kingdoms Affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have always been very loath ſhould be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evil Counſellors.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon Me as My own Counſellor, and having none elſe to quarrel with, under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conſcience, which they labor to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing Me to think their Counſels to be other than good for Me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe, as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were always the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient

to

to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectual to their deſigns as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte My Credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit, is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms; firſt, I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; by exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartial Juſtice, can and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wills and deſigns of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the ſurprize of My Letters, I have loſt any more than ſo many Papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of reſpect and Honor, which they owe to their *King*, preſent and after-times will judge. And I cannot think

think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonor, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonorable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose me to the highest reproach and contempt of my People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any real uncomelines, which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendred me as *a vile Person*, not fit to be trusted, or considered under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence

providence, ordereth the greateſt contingencies of humane affairs; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine: ſo canſt thou defeat their deſign, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my people.*

I muſt firſt appeal to thy Omniſcience, who canſt witneſs with my integrity, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavor by thoſe Papers of mine, to repreſent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt me, ſo to return on their own heads, that they may be aſhamed, and covered with their own confuſion, as with a Cloak.

Thou ſeeſt how mine Enemies uſe all means to cloud mine Honor, to pervert my purpoſes, and to ſlander the footſteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be diſhonored for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpoſe to honor thee, and then I know thou wilt honor me, either by reſtoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majeſty, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeek to deprive me of; or by beſtowing on me that crown of Chriſtian patience, which knows how to ſerve thee

thee in honor or dishonor, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and honor, thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honor and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy glory, which is both true and eternal.

XXII. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the Scots.*

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honor rest My Head; shewing Me, that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of Defence, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast My self, and My now distressed affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now My Counsellor, and commands Me to study My safety, by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their loyalty, who

first began My troubles. Happily God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arm and overcome them: My rendring My Person to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty; and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Councellor and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soul to God and My self; nor shall any necessities compel Me to desert Mine Honor, or swerve from My Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shal now be given them in such a way of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought and professed to be.

God sees it not enough, to deprive Me of all Military power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to

to Me, and apply to thoſe that have Oppoſed Me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous than that of War, both to ſtop the effuſion of blood, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: And in it I am no leſs ſolicitous for My Friends ſafety, than Mine own; chuſing to venture My ſelf upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play, to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to give over, than to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My minde with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up My Souls Liberty, or make My Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded My conſent to their new demands.

I thank God, no ſucceſs darkens or diſguiſes Truth to Me; and I ſhall no leſs conform My words to My inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyal Subjects, *full of power*.

Reaſon is the Divineſt power: I ſhall never think My ſelf weakned, while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclypſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denyed of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not moroſely

to deny, what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never think My self less than My self, while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of My Conscience, the onely Jewel now left Me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battel, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weakness.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person, Peace and Safety, against Those, that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just Resolutions, to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience always accompany me, in my solitude and desertions.

Suffer

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortreſs of my Soul, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteouſneſs, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my ways to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

XXIII. *Upon the Scots delivering the* KING *to the Engliſh, and His Captivity at* Holmby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe Scots to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me, for I never truſted to them further than to men: If I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorry they ſhould do it; and that My price ſhould be ſo much above My Saviors.

Theſe are but further Eſſays, which God will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix Me on himſelf, who never faileth them that truſt in him: Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands Me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy My ſelf, which I loſe, while I let out My hopes to others.

The Solitude and Captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives Me leiſure enough to

ſtudy the worlds vanity, and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare My Soul in ſin, nor gain that of Me, which may make My Enemies more inſolent, My Friends aſhamed, or My Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got My Perſon into their power, ſince My Soul is ſtill My own: nor ſhall they ever gain My Conſent againſt My Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counſellors with Me, but a good Conſcience in Me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh Me; not more a King, and far leſs both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which, though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The

The fear of men ſhall never be My ſnare, nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle My ſoul: Better others betray Me, than My ſelf: and that the price of My liberty ſhould be My Conſcience; the greateſt injuries My Enemies ſeek to inflict upon Me, cannot be without My own conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelf and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to Me, as the peace of My Conſcience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure, more than any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppreſs all.

The Laws will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the Love and Loyalty of My Subjects; if I bury them not by My Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonor and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If My captivity or death muſt be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, His Souls, His Peoples, and Poſterities thraldom.

After-times may see, what the blindeness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them: happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with me, whose presence is better than life, and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Bless me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self, and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion to any impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and I shall never want safety, liberty, nor majesty.

Give

Give me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my person restrained: O be not thou far from me, lest my Enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be merciful to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

XXIV. *Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by

by the attendance of ſome of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time, ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpiritual harveſt of grace amidſt the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wilderneſs to My temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more ſad than any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in thoſe things, where the evil policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſs an injurious uſurpation: But to deny Me the Ghoſtly comfort of My Chaplains, ſeems a greater rigor and barbarity than is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom, though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to be.

They, that envy My being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplains.

I have sometime thought, the Unchristianness of those denials, might arise from a displeasure some men had, to see Me prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians, who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotional complyance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; since their judgements standing at a distance from Me, or in jealousie of Me, or in opposition against Me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable;

table; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection, consists in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse than the disease, and some Comforters more miserable than misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones minde with patience; but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by Justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom, the more I looked upon, as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it My duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomely requited by some of them, who may live to repent no less for My sufferings, than their own ungrateful errors; and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choise of some for My special Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, than to be

forced,

forced, or ſeem to comply with thoſe petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſs, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravity, as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate of Gods Majeſty, the Churches Honor, and his own Vileneſs; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what maner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelf and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſs I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publique Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which, as I do not wholly exclude from publique occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſs, as to the outward maner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſary requiſites

sites both in constant, and occasional, solitary, and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal mindes, with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains, before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been always educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin, of rayling against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ soli*, than to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers, sufficient of My self to discharge My duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as ancient they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more

more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Pſalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, than any of thoſe the Roman Emperors affected from the Nations they ſubdued: it being infinitely more glorious, to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of Gods wiſdom and providence hath, for the moſt part, always diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings, of Prieſts, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches; I am ſorry to finde My ſelf reduced to the neceſſity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For ſuch as ſeek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty, would no leſs enforce Me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſs I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian KING, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections leſs diſtracted, than thoſe, which are encombred with ſecular affairs: beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and

accepta-

acceptableneſs attends thoſe duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his merits daily offers it ſelf and its ſervices to God; every private believer is a King and Prieſt, inveſted with the honor of a Royal Prieſthood; yet, as to Eccleſiaſtical order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modeſt, and I think, more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſs to My ſpiritual defects, make Me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Me; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of My Subjects to reduce Me; ſo as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and to leave Me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſs provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny Me, than this, of having ſome means afforded Me for My ſouls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſs than

for

for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but onely this, That they may ſeem too able, and too well-affected toward Me and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve My ſelf; though I muſt confeſs, I bear with more grief and impatience, the want of My Chaplains, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from My Wife and Children; ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me, and help My infirmities in Prayer, Reading, and Meditation (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Orator or Inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſsiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkneſs, and quicken my dulneſs.

O thou Sun of Righteouſneſs, thou Sacred Fountain of Heavenly light and heat, at once clear

and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me. In thee is all fulness: From thee all sufficiency; By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duel, when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.*

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once bless with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldness of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voyce of joy and gladness, worshipping thee in the unity of Spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure, that I should be as a Pelican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a Coal scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces, on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruized Reed, nor

nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſs of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſs; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſs deſire.

O let the hardneſs of their hearts, occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires, the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſs encline thine ear to me, who art a God eaſie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord, canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelf to thee, who preparеſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceпteſt of me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and

miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruise fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my Soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholsom food, for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whose mouthes are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens Balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppress my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickedness.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words, ever deliver me, O Lord, and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire

desire and delight in the prosperity of my Soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadness and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

XXV. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KINGS solitude at *Holmby*.

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voyce of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in mine haste, I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou heares't the voyce of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou, Lord, shouldst be extream to mark what is done amiss, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my personal and my peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far ſhort of Davids *piety; yet ſince I may equal* Davids *afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſence I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee, though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindeneſs in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindeneſſes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy goodneſs in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperity, deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryal conſume the droſs, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill;

Let

Let it I beſeech thee, be againſt me and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee, ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Goſpel, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſsing the many Schiſms in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the Ancient Rights and Glory of my Predeceſſors.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy ſelf in piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of theſe Civil Wars.

If thou wilt bleſs us with the freedom of publique

lique Counsels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the insolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence, of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity, to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my Soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my people.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me than my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power, be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my people with Justice, and my Kingdoms with Equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own, as the rightful succession, so the merciful restauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety and honor, to my chiefest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand, to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and Resolution of Christian Charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon, for Christs sake, those that have offended me in any kinde; so my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is

past,

past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the ways of amnesty and indempnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soul, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I, that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

XXVI. *Upon the Armies Surprisal of the* KING *at* Holmby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous;

licitous; some little practice will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of honesty and honor.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the yonger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and founds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions, were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot

not be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigor, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a business of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timerous to carry on any design they have a minde to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which, soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glass of the present terrors and distractions.

No man is so blinde, as not to see herein the hand of divine justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſurppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as My ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſs of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honor of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages, than their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice

Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped, and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for, I always wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them do, or ſuffer any thing, unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to ſee them onely ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities, as to deſpair of their Loyalty to Me; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of My prayers and tears, with compaſſionate grief, foreſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings, which will certainly befal ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatal blindeneſs frequently attending and puniſhing wilful, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhal they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will finde, that Brethren in iniquity, are not far from becoming inſolent enemies; there

there being nothing harder, than to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions, which go rather in a round and circle of fancy, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant ways, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and ends in a refractory sullenness: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Soldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it necessary, in order to the Publique peace, that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them, than My self: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valor and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain My self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the strivings of my People, and make me to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of my Kingdoms distractions.

Discover to all sides the ways of peace, from which they have swerved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety of changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity, which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath, justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they be long undis-

armed

armed and un-deſtroyed, who with a high ha
perſiſting to fight againſt thee, and the clear co
victions of their own conſciences, fight more
gainſt themſelves, than ever they did againſt m

Their ſins expoſing them to thy Juſtice, th
riches to others injuries, their number to Tumult
and their Tumults to confuſion.

Though they have with much forwardne
helped to deſtroy me, yet let not my fall be the
ruine.

Let me not ſo much conſider, either what th
have done, or I have ſuffered, (chiefly at firſt
them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Rede
mer, to plead their ignorance for their pardo
and in my dying extremities, to pray to th
Father, to forgive them, for they knew no
they did.

The tears they have denied me in my ſadde
condition, give them grace to beſtow upon them
ſelves; who, the leſs they weep for me, the mo
cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Chil
dren, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, no
the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt (as thou didſ
my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my
ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mer
cy, than of mans cruelty, or thy own juſtice.

XXVII. To



Natus Maij 29. Anº 1630. Ætatis suæ 19.

XXVII. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartial thoughts, touching the chief paſſages which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late Troubles, come to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſign'd, they may be ſo far uſeful to You, as to ſtate Your judgement right in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made: and they may alſo give You ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kinde of deceiving and leſſening the injury of My long reſtraint, when I finde My leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf, and uſeful to You; That neither You, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure My Cauſe by the Succeſs, nor My judgement of things by My misfortunes: which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon You, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as My ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſence, than of Mine own.

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But this advantage of wiſdom You have above moſt Princes, that You have begun, and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the

experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience; wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in winter, than in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honor, or to be contented onely with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the Publique good; for which princes should always remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education, the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions, for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned, by the unparaleld prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted, to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather You should be *Charls le Bon*, than *le Grand*, Good, than Great; I hope God hath designed You to be both, having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose You to those Princely

Princely endowments and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place You.

With God I would have You begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Soveraignty You can attain to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods glory, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; also in the dispensation of Civil Power, with Justice and Honor to the Publique Peace.

Piety will make You prosperous; at least it will keep You from being miserable: nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happiness, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup, whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods physick, having that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already, well grounded and setled in Your

Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred Bond, which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly Your own Religion, and not other mens cuſtom or tradition, which You profeſs.

In this I charge You to perſevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion, will not be more neceſſary for Your Soul's, than Your Kingdoms Peace, when God ſhall bring You to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation, and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unleſs in this point You be well ſetled, You ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy You and Yours, under pretenſions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where,

Where, beſides the Novelty, which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious, by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publique Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in Your judgement, and the Church well ſetled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one ſide, gains You not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth You in others; who think themſelves and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by You: Take ſuch a courſe, as may either with calmneſs and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of power, that You ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever You ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, You are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove. You may never expect leſs of loyalty, juſtice, or humanity, than from thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion: Their intereſt is always made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not onely with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy: You may hear from them *Jacobs* voice, but You ſhall feel they have *Eſau*'s hands. m.

Nothing seemed less considerable, than the Presbyterian faction in *England*, for many years, so compliant they were to Publique Order: nor indeed was their Party great, either in Church or State, as to mens judgements: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humors fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflammations) so did all at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first, were officious Servants to Presbytery, their great Master: till time and Military success, discovering to each their pecular advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of Uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to You, in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace; so as to neglect a speedy reforming, and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms, which seem at first but as a handbreadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When You have done justice to God, Your own Soul

Soul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of Truth and Unity in Religion: The next main thing on which Your proſperity will depend and move, is, that of Civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to which You are rightly Heir, are the moſt excellent rules You can govern by; which by an admirable temperament, give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty and happineſs; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property, peace and ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh Your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws, to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge Your head with ſuch a Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſs oppreſs the whole body, the weakneſs of whoſe parts cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honor or ſafety to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed, in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worſe than legal Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of My Sufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honor of a kinde of

Martyrdom, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; the Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Me, but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established, before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction, with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous, what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in My soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honor and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the Divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope he will;

will; My counsel and charge to You, is, That You seriously consider the former, real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions, by the crosness, and asperity of some mens passions, humors, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Goverment, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Always

Always keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favor and juſtice.

Take heed, that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartial hand diſtribute favors and rewards to all men, as You finde them for their real goodneſs, both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain You the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer ways of vertue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are ſecured from that fear; but they are divided to ſo high a rivalry, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, than againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſigns, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation,

formation, and Liberty: As the Wolf is not leſs cruel, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſel to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any deſigns, (as other men) ſo that You ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſs, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodneſs) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed factions, ſhall by the ſun-ſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendor of Your vertues, be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, That none are greater Oppreſſors of their Eſtates, Liberties and Conſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſin and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations

emulations is drawn out, uſe all princely arts, and clemency to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equal the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

m. I would have You always propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

m. It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſs, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me and You, than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duel with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſs of Your minde muſt raiſe You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your own merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to You, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will ſtudy to deſerve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Laws have aſſigned to Us; and no Subjects, without an high degree of guilt and ſin, can deveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee You in peace, to let You more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honor, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never ſee My face again, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcurity; (which the perfecting ſome mens deſigns require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word,

or

or a look with Me; I do require and entreat You as Your Father, and Your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way, between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of fantastique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or Your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples. 'Tis

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Piety, both of them are to be *known by their fruits*; the sweetness of the Vine and Figtree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminish Your greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preserve that Freedom, and Honor, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and honorable ways, to contribute their

their Counſels in common, enacting all things by publique conſent; without tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholeſom food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever reſtored to Our Right, but God in his ſevereſt juſtice will puniſh My Subjects, with continuance in their ſin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſs; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up; or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonorable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honor, You ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honor will conſiſt, in Your preferring all reſpect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many ways deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bleſs Me with ſo many hopeful Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content, with incomparable magnanimity and patience, to ſuffer both for and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever be-
m. comes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor or Harbor rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer, by Your wiſdom,

wiſdom, juſtice, piety and valor, of what the folly and wickedneſs of ſome have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honor, Conſcience or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; ſo I beſeech God, not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deſerted Me, or ingaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward honor will be their firſt tormenter, nor will they eſcape exemplary judgements.

For thoſe that loved Me, I pray God they may have no miſs of Me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of Your preſence and vertues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King, ſo I believe You will finde them truly zealous to pay with intereſt, that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In ſum, what good I intended, do You perform, when God ſhall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church

and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace: This mask of Religion, on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted, without both their sin and their infelicity.*

I pray God bless You; and establish Your Kingdoms in Righteousnes, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your Honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My memory ever, with My name, live in You, as of Your Father that loves You; and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience; which, I thank God, is dearer to Me, than a thousand Kingdoms.

I know

I know God can, I hope he will reſtore Me to My Rights: I cannot deſpair either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Savior Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

XXVIII. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and His Majeſties cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death; for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the ſpace, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruel paſſions, whoſe envy or enmity againſt Me, makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, my proſperity made me not wholly a ſtranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is always uncertain: Death being an eclipſe, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy days.

But My now long and ſharp adverſity, hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled; and the ſpecial horror of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me, with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſs God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his Death againſt them; which as to the immaturity, unjuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn and cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde ſo much the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to dye, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to dye; if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life, to *dye daily*, in conquering by a lively

a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life; thoſe partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us over-live our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honor, liberty, power, credit, ſafety or eſtate, and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My ſelf to live in nothing temporal ſo much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have ſuffered may deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithſtanding, My Enemies have uſed all the poyſon of falſity, and violence of hoſtility to deſtroy, firſt the love and and loyalty which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in Me, which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and onely the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all thoſe worldly comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeems deſirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimity in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honor of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know, that in point of true Chriſtian valor, it argues puſillanimity to deſire to dye out of wearines of life; and a want of that heroick great-

neſs of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian, in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are leſſened or enlarged, as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher or lower, whoſe total abſence is beſt recompenced with the dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſons* Lyon, but they yield much ſweetneſs to thoſe that dare to encounter & overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds, without diſcontent or peeviſhneſs, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt dye as a Man, is certain; that I may dye a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſudden, and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of My years, in the midſt of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſs Spectators: My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwiſe, as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſal: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life, by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will, both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me.

I con-

I confeſs it is not eaſie for Me, to contend with thoſe many horrors of death, wherewith God ſuffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſs of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greateſt formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruel) will it may be, ſeek to adde (as thoſe did, who crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſs pity, it will be but a neceſſary policy, to make My death appear as an act of Juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or Man, inveſts them with any power of Judicature without Me, much leſs againſt Me: and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and Man, to endeavor My preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My blood, ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe, in their own conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after

by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruel, in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawful Superiors, than this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding, thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applyed onely to diſguiſe at firſt, the monſtrouſneſs of their deſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, That I would not either deſtroy My ſelf with the Church and State, by My word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition, no Conceſſions of Mine could ever yet either ſatisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of Brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſs, either to God or man) is like to thrive, till watered with the Royal blood of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My innocency will finde him both My Protector, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as a King of Kings; not onely for the eminency of his power and majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order,

der, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those I have lived to see since My troubles, in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many ways pleaded My cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death, is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honor to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousness sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also,

alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My blood to them, further than to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts blood to waſh their ſouls from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſs the Exactor of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by My danger, and the ſecurity of their lives and deſigns by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſin are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſs God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſs from Me, as that of his wrath may paſs from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to My death, are embrued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit, by their hands,

to

to take it from Me; whoſe mercy, I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive Me of.

The glory attending My death will far ſurpaſs all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of My earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly Kingdom with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſary Tyranny of My Deſtroyers, will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyranny againſt Me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of My Subjects, who do not onely pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

Theſe know, how to excuſe My failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to Me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects, by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publique; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſs advantaged by My ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſci-

ences;

ences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Me, in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruel, as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate, may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse-used Authority: upon whose support and strength, they chiefly depended for their building, and establishing their designs against Me, the Church and State.

My chiefest comfort in death, consists in My peace, which, I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal, I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and My causless Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly success (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

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I am confident, the Juſtice of My Cauſe, and clearneſs of My Conſcience before God and toward My People, will carry Me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above Me in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men, are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperity and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſs and oppreſſion of the deſign. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſayls of Pirats, doth not juſtifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in My enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honor of Parliaments, the Rights of My Crown, the juſt Liberty of My Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſs, over-born them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſigns they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects, will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) than they can give it to Me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt Me.

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to owe more

more to My Enemies, than My Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life; wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conqueror through Christ enabling Me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and Me; yet as I hope My own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of My destruction.

The Trophees of My charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over Me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain; that My temporal death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the tempo-

temporal deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſs deprecable, than the eternal damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, than the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt Me overboard; though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My Enemies cruelty cannot prevent My preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed My Soul with My Body; of whoſe ſalvation, while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed and taught others to deſpair, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruel Reſtraints, denying Me even the aſſiſtance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obſtructed My acceſs to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of Eternal life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou, O God, art both the juſt Inflicter of death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee: than by living in our ſelves, to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death, as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpecial graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I ſhall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death, is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with me as a man; make me to know what it is to paſs through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer
ℸ. *liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternal life.*

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſs of thy will, through the wickedneſs of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave, as a man to pray, that this cup may paſs from me; but thou haſt taught me as a Chriſtian, by the example of Chriſt, to adde, Not my will, but thine be done.

Yea, Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in

me

me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errors of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrors of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain, and in death, advantage.

Though my deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciful to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Souls?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many, that crucified Him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my murtherers, louder than the cry of mine againſt them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their ſin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls, by fallacious pretenſions of Juſtice, in deſtroying me; while the conſcience of their unjuſt uſurpation of power againſt me, chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me, as very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men, but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may pass over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little, to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious kingdom of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal mercies.

That what is out off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

THE PAPERS

Which passed between

His MAJESTY and Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caril*, and Mr. *Seaman*, Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, *An. Dom.* 1648.

Concerning CHURCH-GOVERNMENT and EPISCOPACY.

The Papers which passed between His MAJESTY *and the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at* Newport *in the* Isle of Wight, An. Dom. 1648. *concerning Episcopacy.*

His Majesties *first Paper concerning* Episcopacy.

Charles R.

I Conceive that *Episcopal Government* is most consonant to the Word of God, and of an Apostolicall institution, as it appeares by the Scripture, to have been practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed, and derived to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ; and therefore I cannot in conscience consent to abolish the said Government: notwithstanding this my perswasion, I shall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty as they might totally alter or change the Church-Government at their pleasure: which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confesse that one of my great Scruples is clean

Acts 14. 23. Acts 6. 6. 1 Cor. 16. 1. 1 Cor. 14. 1 Cor. 5. 5. 3 Joh. 9. 10. 1 Tim. 5. 22. Titus 1. 5. Revel. 2. 3. 1 Tim. 5. 19. Titus 3. 10.

taken away: And then there onely remains:

That being by my Coronation Oath obliged to maintain Epiſcopal Government, as I found it ſetled to My hands; whether I may conſent to the aboliſhing thereof, untill the ſame ſhall be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the Word of God.

Newport, 2 Octob. 1648.

An humble Anſwer returned to your MAJESTIES *Paper, delivered to us* Octob. 2. 1648.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE doe fully agree without heſitation, That theſe Scriptures cited in the margent of your Paper, *Acts* 14.23. *Acts* 6.6. 1 *Cor.* 16.1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor.* 5.3. 3 *Iohn* 9.10. do prove, That the Apoſtles did ordain Presbyters and Deacons, give rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and had power of cenſures over Presbyters and others; and that theſe places of Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 5.22. *Titus* 1.5. 1 *Tim.* 5.19. *Titus* 3.10. do prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to exerciſe Cenſures over others; and that the ſecond and third Chapters of the *Revelations* do prove, That the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches, and exerciſing Cenſures: But that either the Apoſtles, or *Timothy* and *Titus*, or the Angels of the Churches were Biſhops, as Biſhops

shops are distinct from Presbyters, exercising Episcopal Government in that sense; or that the Apostles did commit and derive to any particular persons as their Substitutes and Successors, any such Episcopal Government; or that this is proved in the least measure by the Scriptures alledged, we do as fully deny: And therefore doe humbly deny also, That Episcopal Government is therefore most consonant to the Word of God, and of Apostolical institution, or proved so to be by these Scriptures. None of these were Bishops, or practised Episcopal Government, as Bishops are distinct from Presbytery; neither is such an Officer of the Church as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, to be found in the New Testament (by which we humbly conceive, That our faith and conscience touching this point ought to be concluded) The Name, Office, and Work of Bishop and Presbyter being one and the same in all things, and never in the least distinguisht; and is clearly evident, *Titus* 1.5,7. *For this cause left I thee in Creet, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee; for a Bishop must be blameless.* In which place the Apostles reasoning were altogether invalid and inconsequent, if Presbyter and Bishop were not the same Office, as well as they have the same name.

The same is manifest, *Acts* 20.17,28. And from *Miletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, & called the presbyters

of the Church, to whom he gave his charge, *Verse* 28. *Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we observe, That the Apostle being to leave these presbyters, and never to see their faces more, *verse* 38. doth charge them with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being Bishops of the Holy Ghosts making: But that the Holy Ghost did make any superiour or higher kind of Bishops then these common Presbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other text.

And that under the mouth of 2 or 3 witnesses this assertion of ours may stand; we adde to what we have already said, That in the first of *Peter* 5. 1,2. *The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am also a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you, performing the Office of Bishops.* Where it appeares plain to us, That under the words used in this place, is expresst whatsoever work the Presbyters do more for the government or good of the Church, otherwise then is there expresly enjoyned unto Presbyters. By all which that hath been said, The point is rendred most clear to the judgement of most men, both ancient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament, as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the least notice

tice of any qualification required in a Bishop, that is not required in a Presbyter: nor any Ordination to the Office of a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Bishop, which Presbyters are not enjoyned to do; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Apostles speak of, 1 *Tim.*5.17. *As due to Presbyters that rule well*, is with a note of *especially* affixed to that act or work of labouring in the Word and Doctrine; which is not that act wherein Bishops have challenged a singularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyters.

To that which your Majesty doth conceive, That Episcopal Government was practised by the Apostles themselves; We humbly answer, That the Apostles, as they were the highest Officers of the Church of Christ, so they were Extraordinary in respect of their Commission and gifts, and office, and distinguished from all other Officers, 1 *Cor.*12.28. God hath set some in the Church; *First Apostles, Secondly Prophets, Thirdly Teachers*, Ephesians 4.11. *Christ gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and some Teachers*; whereby the Apostles are distinguisht from Pastors and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the word, and Government; that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to exercise censures in all Churches

we affirm, and withall, that no perſons or Officers of the Church may challenge or aſſume to themſelves ſuch power in that reſpect alone, becauſe the Apoſtles practiſed it, except ſuch power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apoſtles, by warrant of the Scripture; for that Government which they practiſed was Apoſtolicall, according to that peculiar commiſſion and authority which they had, and no otherwiſe to be called Epiſcopall, then as their office was ſo comprehenſive, as they had power to do the work of any, or all other Church-officers; in which reſpect they call themſelves *Presbyteri*, *Diaconi*, (but never *Epiſcopi* in diſtinct ſenſe) and therefore we humbly crave leave to ſay, That to argue the Apoſtles to have practiſed Epiſcopall Governmentb, ecauſe they ordained other Officers, and exerciſed cenſures, is, as if he ſhould argue a Juſtice of peace to be a Conſtable, becauſe he doth that which a Conſtable doth in ſome particulars. It is manifeſt that the Office of Biſhops and Presbyters were not diſtinct in the Apoſtles, they did not act as Biſhops in ſome acts, and as Presbyters in other acts; the diſtinction of Presbyters and Biſhops being made by men in after times.

And whereas your Majeſty doth conceive, that Epiſcopall Government was by the Apoſtles committed and delivered to particular perſons, as their Subſtitutes or their Succeſſors therein

therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) seeming by the alledged places of Scripture to instance in *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches. We humbly answer:

1. And first to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we grant, That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters & others, though we cannot say they had this power as the Apostles Substitutes or Successors in Episcopal Government, nor that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Church, distinct from pastors and Teachers, *Ephesians* 4.11. And that they were Evangelists, it appeares by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to severall Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require; the one of them being expresly called an Evangelist, 2 *Tim.*4.5. And neither of them being any where in Scripture called Bishop, neither were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appeares in Scripture, returned to them again: And it seems clear to us, that neither their abode

abode at *Epheſus* and *Crete*, was for any long time, nor ſo intended by the Apoſtle; for he employes them there upon occaſionall buſineſs, and expreſſeth himſelf in ſuch a manner, (*I beſought thee to abide ſtill at* Epheſus, *when I went into* Macedonia, *that thou mighteſt charge ſome, that they teach no other Doctrine*, 1 *Tim.*1.3. *For this cauſe left I thee in* Creet, *Tit.*1.5.) as doth not carry the fixing or conſtituting of a Biſhop in a place as a perpetuall Governour: and it is as manifeſt, that they were both of them called away from theſe places, 2 *Tim.*4.9 *Doe thy diligence to come to me ſhortly*, Tit.3.12. *Be diligent to come to me to* Nicopolis; ſo that they may as well be called Biſhops of any other City or Church where they had any conſiderable abode, as they are pretended to have been of *Epheſus* and *Creet*, as they are called by the poſt-ſcripts of theſe Apoſtles; the credit of which poſt-ſcripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches; the Miniſters of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphoricall and a Myſtery, *Rev.*1.20. The myſtery of the ſeven Stars; Angels in reſpect of their miſſion or ſending; Stars in reſpect of their ſtation and ſhining. And it ſeems ſtrange to us that ſo many expreſs teſtimonies of Scriptures, and allegoricalll denominations or myſteries ſhould be oppoſed; theſe Angels being no where

where called Bishops in vulgar acceptation, nor the word Bishop used in any of *Johns* writings, who calls himself Presbyter; nor any mention of superiority of one Presbyter to another, but in *Diotrephes* affecting it. And as to that which may be said, that Epistles are directed to one, we answer, that a number of persons are in the mysterious and prophetick writings expresst in singulars. And we humbly conceive, that being written in an Epistolary style (for they are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these writings are directed as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be; that is, to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting assembled: which that they were so intended, is clear to us, both because there were in *Ephesus* Bishops and Presbyters one and the same, to whom the Apostle at his farewell commended the Government of the Church, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, as *Rev.* 2. 24. *To you and to the rest in Thyatira*; by which distinction of *you and the rest*, we conceive the Church-governments (which were more than one) and the people to be signified, and so cannot consent that any singular person had majority over the rest, or sole power of exercising Church-censures and Government spoken of in these Chapters.

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apostles themselves did not institute

tute or practiſe Epiſcopall Government, nor commit and derive it to particular perſons as their Subſtitutes or Succeſſors therein. We ſhall in further diſcharge of our duty to, and for the more clear and full ſatisfaction of your Majeſty in this point, briefly declare into what Officers hands the ordinary and ſtanding Offices of the Church were tranſmitted and derived by and from the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles had no Succeſſors *in eundem gradum:* The Apoſtolicall Office wasnot derived by ſucceſſion, being inſtituted by Chriſt by extraordinary and ſpecial commiſſion; but for the ordinary and ſtanding uſe and ſervice of the Church, there were ordained onely two orders of Offices, *viz.* Biſhops and Deacons, which the Apoſtle expreſſeth, *Phil.* 1.1. *To all the Saints in Chriſt Jeſus which are at Philippi, with the Biſhops and Deacons:* And onely of them doth the Apoſtle give the due characters of Officers: 1 *Tim.* 2.3,8. From both which places of Scripture we conclude with ancient Expoſitors, both Greek and Latine, that Biſhops are the ſame with Presbyters, and beſides Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order but that of Deacons; of both which Orders there were in the Apoſtles times in one City more then one, as in *Philippi* and *Epheſus.* And we humbly offer to your Majeſty as obſervable, that though one Order might be ſuperiour to another Order, yet in the ſame order of Officers there was not any one

one superiour to others of the same order; no Apostle was above an Apostle, no Evangelist above an Evangelist, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: and so we conclude this part, that since Church-Officers are instituted and set in the Church by God, or Jesus Christ; and that Ordination by or in which the Office is conveyed, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters and Deacons; therefore there are no other orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Churches of Christ.

As for the ages immediately succeeding the Apostles, we answer, 1. Our Faith reacheth no further then the holy Scripturns; no humane testimony can beget any more than a humane faith.

2. We answer, that it is agreed upon by learned men, as well such as contend for Episcopacy as others, that the times immediately succeeding the Apostles are very dark in respect of the History of the Church.

3. That the most unquestionable Record of those times gives clear testimony to our assertion, *viz.* The Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, who reciting the order of Church-officers, expresly limits them to two, Bishops and Deacons; and they whom in one place he called Bishops, he alwayes afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epistles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next antiquity, but are by some suspected as wholly spurious, and proved by *Videlius* to be so mixed,

that

that it is hard, if not impossible, to know what parts of them are genuine. Besides, Bishop *Usher* in his last observations on them, *cap.* 18. *pag.* 238. confesseth, that of the twelve of his Epistles six are counterfeit, the other six mixt, and none of them in every respect accounted sincere and genuine.

Fourthly, we grant, that not long after the Apostles times, Bishops in some superiority to Presbyters, are by the writers of those times reported to be in the Church; but they were set up not as a Divine Institution, but as an Ecclesiasticall (as afterwards both Arch-bishops and Patriarchs were) which is clear by Doctor *Reynolds* his Epistle to Sir *Francis Knowles*, wherein he shews out of Bishop *Jewel*, that *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, and many more holy Fathers, together with the Apostle *Paul*, agree, that by the Word of God there is no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop: and that *Medina* in the *Council* of *Trent* affirms not onely the same Fathers, but also another *Ierome*, *Theodoret*, *Primatius*, *Sedulius*, and *Theophylact*, to be of the same judgement; and that with them agreed *Oecumenius*, *Anselm* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and another *Anselm*, *Gregory* and *Gratian*, and after them many others; that it was enrolled in the Canon Law for sound and Catholick Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned men; and addes, that all who have laboured in the Reformation

mation of the Church for these five hundred years, have taught that all Pastors, be they instituted Bishops or Priests, have equall authority and power by Gods Word. The same way goes *Lumbard* Master of the Sentences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who speaking of Presbyters and Deacons, saith, the Primitive Churches had those orders onely; and that we have the Apostles precept for them alone: with him agree many of the most eminent of that kind, and generally all the Canonists; to these we may adde *Sextus Senensis*, who testifies for himself and many others; and *Cassander*, who was called by one of the German Emperours, as one of singular ability and integrity, to inform him and resolve his conscience in questions of that nature, who sayes, it is agreed among all the Apostles times, there was no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter.

For a conclusion we adde, that the doctrine which we have herein propounded to your Majesty concerning the identity of the order of Bishops and Presbyters, is no other then the doctrine published by King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. for all his Subjects to receive, seen and allowed by the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, with the nether House of Parliament: of these two Orders onely (so saith his Book,) that is to say, Priests and Deacons, the Scripture maketh expresse mention, and how they were conferd of by the

the Apostles by prayer, and imposition of their hands: by all which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopacy, as distinct from Presbyters, is but an Ecclesiasticall institution, and therefore not unalterable.

Lastly, we answer, that that Episcopall Government which at first obtained in the Church did really and substantially differ from Episcopall Government which the honourable Houses of Parliament desire the abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one presiding in, and joyning with the Presbytery of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters chusing out one among themselves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or chosen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his neighbours of like dignity within the same precinct. Lesser Towns and Villages had and might have had Bishops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, untill the Council of *Sardis* decreed, that Villages and small Cities should have no Bishops, lest the name and authority of a Bishop might thereby come into contempt; but of one claiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a superiour order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all jurisdictions, either to exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy, as they distinguish according to the judgement and practise of these

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our times, we read not till the later and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears, that the present Hierarchy, (the abolition whereof is desired by the Honourable Houses may be accordingly abolished;) and yet possibly the Bishops of these primitive times might be, they are so far differing from one another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties Paper, wherein you enquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church-Government at their pleasure; we humbly conceive that there are substantials belonging to Church-Government, such are appointed by Christ and his Apostles, which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleasure: But as for Arch-Bishops, &c. we hope it will appear unto your Majesties conscience, that they are none of the Church-Governours appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles; we beseech your Majesty, rather to look to the originall of them than Succession.

His MAJESTIES *Answer to the Paper delivered to Him by the Ministers attending the* Parliaments *Commissioners.*

Concerning CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

C. R.

HIs *Majesty*, upon perusall of your Answer to His Paper the second of *Octob.* 1648. findeth that you acknowledge the severall Scriptures cited in the Margin, to prove the thing for which they are cited, *viz.* that the Apostles in their own persons, that *Timothy* and *Titus* by authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-government, and did or might actually exercise the same in all the three severall branches in His Paper specified; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more or other power to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall Offices, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, then what properly falleth under one of these three, ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures.

But you presently after deny the persons that exercised the power aforesaid to have been Bishops, or had exercised Episcopall Government in that sense, as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters: wherein you do in effect deny the very same

same thing you had before granted: for Episcopall Govenment in that sense being nothing else but the government of the Churches within a certain precinct (commonly called a Dioceſſe) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and people of those Churches for that end; since the substance of the thing it self in all the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unlesse you will strive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the puzling and subverting of those that seek after truth) you must also acknowledge that Episcopal Government in the sense aforesaid may be sufficiently proved from Scripture.

In that which you say next, and for proof thereof insist upon three severall Texts, *Titus* 1.5,7. *Acts* 20.17,18. 1 *Pet.* 5.1,2. His Majesty conceives (as to the present busineſſe) that the most that can be proved from all or any of those places, is this, that the word *Bishop* is there used to signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the office and work mentioned in those places as the office and work of a Bishop, are the office and work of a Presbyter; which is confeſs'd on all sides, although his Majesty is not sure that the proof will reach so far in each of those places. But from thence to infer an absolute Identity of the Functions of a Bishop and Presbyter, is a fallacy, which his Majesty observes to run in a man-

ner quite along your whole answer: but it appears from the Scriptures, by what you have granted, that single persons (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for example) had authority to perform such acts and offices of Church-Government, as his Majesty hath not yet found by any thing represented unto him by you or any other from the Scripture, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform; which is enough to prove that there may be community of names in some places, notwithstanding the functions themselves are in other places by their proper work sufficiently distinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus*, or *Bishop*, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilfull in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more then an Over-seer, one that hath the charge or inspection of something committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or to keep Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiasticall use, it is applyed to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them in *Spiritualibus*, as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, onely they have the over-sight of the flock in the duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, exhorting, rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pastorum* with-

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in their ſeverall precincts, in the acts of external government; ſo that the common work of both Functions is the Miniſtery of the Goſpel: but that which is peculiar to the Function of Biſhops as diſtinguiſh'd from Presbyters, is Church-Government. It is not therefore to be wondred, if it ſhould happen in the New Teſtament, the word *Epiſcopus* to be uſually applyed unto Preſbyters, who were indeed over-ſeers of the flock, rather than unto Church-Governours, who had then a title of greater eminency, whereby to diſtinguiſh them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apoſtles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of their Succeſſors; the names were by common uſage (which is the beſt maſter of words) very ſoon appropriated, that of *Epiſcopus* to the Eccleſiaſticall Governour or Biſhops of a Dioceſſe, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Miniſters or Prieſts.

His Majeſty hath rather cauſe to wonder, That upon ſuch premiſes you ſhould conclude with ſo much confidence, as if the point were rendred moſt cleare to the judgement of moſt men, both ancient and of later times, that there is no ſuch Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Teſtament as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majeſty remembreth to have ſeen cited, by ſuch Authors as he hath no reaſon to ſuſpect, both out of the anci-

ent Fathers and Councels, and out of sundry modern Writers, even of these reformed Churches that want Bishops, great varieties of Testimonies to the contrary.

His Majesty is not satisfied with your Answer concerning the Apostles exercise of Episcopall Government, which you would put off, by referring it to their extraordinary calling; our Saviour himself was the first and chief Apostle and Bishop of our souls, sent by the Father, and anointed by the holy Ghost. to be both the Teacher and the Governour of his Church. By that Mission he received authority, and by Unction abilities for these works, which he performed in his own person, whilest he lived upon the earth: before he left the world, that the Church might not want teaching and governing to the worlds end, he chose certain persons upon whom he conferred both these powers, whereby they became also Apostles and Bishops, by making them partakers both of his Mission before his Ascension (*As my Father sent me so I send you*) and of his Unction shortly after his Ascension, when he poured upon them the holy Ghost at Pentecost. The Mission both for teaching and governing (at least for the substance of it) was ordinary, and to continue to the end of the world, *Matth.* 28. 18, 20. and therefore necessarily to descend, and be by them transmitted to others as their Substitutes or Suc-

Successors. But the unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the holy Ghost, in such a plenteous measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Prephecyings, Healing, Infallibility of Doctrine, discerning of spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others, though in an inferiour measure, as God saw it needful for planting of the Churches, and propagation of the Gospel in those primitive times; and in this (which was indeed extraordinary in them) they were not necessarily to have Successors. But it seemes very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of teaching or governing to an extraordinary calling, which being of necessary and continuall use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the work of a Function of ordinary and perpetuall use; therefore the acts of governing of the Church, were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, than the acts of teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more than ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the Offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary Offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediate-

ly succeeding them in the office of teaching: and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you likewise endevoured to avoid by the pretention of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

1. First you say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangelists: whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no-where implies any such thing at all, and by your own Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist is such as you have described it; The work of an Evangelist which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do, seems by the context (2 *Tim.* 2. 4, 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all impediments and opposition.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not onely denied, but clearly refuted by *Scultetus*, *Gerrard*, and others; yea even with scorn re-

rejected of late, (as his Majeſty is informed) by ſome rigid Presbyterians, as *Gilleſpee*, *Rutherfurd*, &c. And that which you ſo confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops, is not onely confirmed by the conſentient teſtimony of all Antiquity (even *Jerome* himſelf having recorded it, that they were Biſhops, and that of Saint *Pauls* Ordination) and acknowledged by very many late Divines: but a Catalogue alſo of twenty ſeven Biſhops of *Epheſus* lineally ſucceeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is vouched by *Reynolds* againſt *Hart*, and by other Writers.

4. You affirme, but upon very weak proofes; That they were from *Epheſus* and *Crete* removed to other places. Some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and orders of the ſeverall journeyes and ſtations of Saint *Paul* and *Timothy*, have demonſtrated the contrary concerning that particular.

5. Whereas you ſay it is manifeſt from the 2 *Timothy*, 4.9. and *Titus*, 3.12. That they were called away from theſe places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Biſhops there, or that they might as well be called Biſhops of other Churches, then it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, that they are not Parſons or Vicars of their ſeveral pariſhes.

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Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the next point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty findes as little satisfaction as in the last point before. The strength of his Majesties instance lay in this, that by the judgement of all the ancient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the Seven Churches were *personæ singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches, and that is in a word Bishops. And you bring nothing of moment in your answer to infirm this: you say truly indeed, That those Epistles were written in an Epistolary style, & so (as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be) directed to one, but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are so far from weakening, that you rather strengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been single persons: As when his Majesty sendeth a Message to His two Houses, and directs it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, his intending

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it to the whole House, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one single person still. Yet his Majesty cannot but observe in this (as in some parts of your answer) how willing you are *versari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to speak out, and to declare plainly and directly what your opinion is concerning those Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antichrist of Episcopacy; *Salmasius* very peremptorily (*sit ergo hoc fixum, &c.*) affirmeth, the whole Churches, or so many individual Pastors of the greater Church in these Cities, or the whole Colledge of Presbyters in the respective Churches, or the singular and individual Presidents of these Colledges. For into so many severall opinions are these few divided among themselves, who have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the Christian Church.

In the following Discourse you deny that the Apostles were to have any successors in their Office, and affirm, that they were to be onely two Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Church, *viz. Presbyters* and *Deacons*.

What his Majesty conceiveth concerning the Successors of the Apostles, is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Successors *in eundem gradum*, in respect of these things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the measure of their gifts, the extent of their charge, the infalli-

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bility of their doctrine, and (which is sundry times mentioned as a speciall character of an Apostle properly so called) they having seen Christ in the flesh. But in these things that were not extraordinary (and such those things are to be judged which are necessary for the service of the Church in all times, as the Office of Teaching, and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Successors; and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councels of old times, did usually style Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without any scrupling thereat.

And as to the standing Officers of the Church, although in the place by you cited, *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. there be no mention of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, but of the two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons, yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides, for there appears two other manifest Reasons, why that of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places; the one, because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themselves the care, and reserved in their own hands, the power of governing of these Churches for a longer or shorter time, as they saw it expedient for the propagating of the Gospel, before they set Bishops over them; and so it may be

be probable that there was as yet no Bishop set over the Church of *Philippi*, when Saint *Paul* writ his Epistle to them: The other, because in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the persons to whom he wrote being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice or qualification of any other sort of Officers, then such as belonged to their ordination or inspection which were Presbyters and Deacons onely, and no Bishops.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

First, his Majesty believeth, that although Faith, as it is an assent unto truth supernaturall, or of Divine Revelation, reacheth no further then the Scriptures, yet in matters of fact, humane testimonies may beget a faith; though humane, yet certain and infallible, as by credit of Histories we have an infallible faith that *Aristotle* was a Greek Philosopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The darkness of these times in respect of the History of the Church, is a very strong Argument for Episcopacy; for that notwithstanding the darkness of the times, there is found so full and clear a proof, by the unquestioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Bishops of sundry famous Cities, as *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, *&c*, in a continued succession from the Apostles, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

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3. In *Clements* testimony cited by you, his Majesty conceiveth you make use of your old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the indistinction of the things; for who can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epistle, or considereth that he himself was a Bishop in that sense: even by the confession of *Videlius* himself, a man never yet suspected to favour Bishops, who saith, after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens solus Episcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcopi & Presbyteri*; and for *Ignatius* his Epistles, though some of late out of their partiall dis-affection to Bishops, have endeavoured to discredit the whole Volume of them by all possible means, without any regard either of ingenuity or truth, yet sundry of them are such, as being attested by the suffrages of Antiquity, cannot with any fore-head be denied to be his; and there is scarce any of them which doth not give testimony to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: *Ignatius* himself was a Bishop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for the faith of *Christ*.

4. You grant, that not long after the Apostles times Bishops are found in the Writers of those times, reported as in some superiority to Presbyters; but you might have added farther out of these Writers (if you had pleased) that

that they were some of them, as *James* at *Jerusalem*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, *Titus* in *Creet*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at *Rome*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, constituted and ordained Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves, and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office: and his Majesty presumeth you could not be ignorant, that all or most of the testimonies you recite of the ancient Fathers, Writers of middle ages, School-men and Canonists, and the Book published under King *Henry* the 8. do but either import the promiscous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, whereof advantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things, or else they relate to a school-point (which in respect of the thing it self is but a very nicety) disputed *pro* and *con* by curious Questionists, *Utrum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*, both sides in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church-Government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the Presbyters; as also that there may be produced either from the very same Writers, or from others of as good authority or credit, testimonies both for number and clearness far beyond those by you mentioned, to assert the three different degrees or orders (call them whether you will) of Eccleasiasticall Functions (*viz.*) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

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As to that which you adde lastly, concerning the difference between primitive Episcopacy, and the present Hierarchy, albeit his Majesty doth conceive, that the accessions or additions granted by the favour of his Royal progenitors, for the enlarging of the power or priviledges of Bishops, have not made, or indeed can make the Government really and substantially to differ from what formerly it was, no more then the Addition of Armes or Ornaments can make a body really and substantially to differ from it self naked, or devested of the same; nor can think it either necessary or yet expedient, that the elections of the Bishops, and some other circumstantials touching their persons or Office should be in all respects the same under Christian Princes, as it was when Christians lived among Pagans, and under persecution; yet his Majesty so far approveth of your Answer in that behalf, that he thinketh it well worthy the studies and endevours of Divines of both opinions, laying aside emulation and private interests, to reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well-proportioned form of superiority and subordination, as may best resemble the Apostolicall and primitive times, so far forth as the different condition of the times, and the exigents of all considerable circumstances will admit, so as the power of Church-Government in the particular Ordination which is meerly spirituall, may remain autho-

thoritative in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised without the concurrence or assistance of his Presbytery; as *Timothy* was ordained by the authority of S. *Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1.6. but with the concurrence or assistance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Other powers of government which belong to jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishops, as before is expres'd) yet the outward exercise of them may be ordered and disposed, or limited by the Soveraign power, to which by the laws of the place and the acknowledgement of the Clergy they are subordinate; but his Majesty doubteth whether it be in your power to give him any perfect assurance, that in the desired abolition of the present Hierarchy, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and consequently of Presbytery, is neither included nor intended.

As to the last part of his Majesties Paper, his Majesty would have been better satisfied, if you had been more particular in your answer thereunto; you tell him in generall, that there are 72. substantials in Church-Government appointed by Christ, &c. but you neither say what these substantials are, nor in whose hands they are left; whereas his Majesty expected that you would have declared your opinions clearly, whether Christ or his Apostles left any certain form of government to be observed in all Christian Churches; then whether the same binds all Churches to the particular observation thereof;

or whether they may upon occasion alter the same, either in whole or in part. Likewise whether that certain form of Government which Christ and his Apostles have appointed as perpetuall and unalterable (if they have appointed any such at all) be the Episcopall, or the Presbyterian Government, or some other differing from them both.

And whereas in the conclusion you beseech his Majesty to look rather to the Original of Bishops, then to their Succession; his Majesty thinks it needful to look at both; especially since their Succession is the best clue, the most certain and ready way to find out their originall.

His Majesty having returned you this answer, doth profess, that whatever is of weight in yours, shall have influence on him; so he doubts not but somewhat may appear to you in His which was not so clear to you before: and if this debate may have this end, that it dispose others to the temper of accepting reason, as it shall him of endevouring to give satisfaction in all He can to the two Houses, his Majesty believes, though it hath taken up, it hath not mis-spent his time.

Newport, Octob. 6.

The

The Answer of the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament, to the second Paper delivered to them by His Majesty, *Octob.* 6. 1648.

Delivered to His *Majesty*, *Oct.* 17.

May it please your Majesty,

AS in our Paper of *Octob.* 3. in answer to your Majesties of *Octob.* 2. we did, so now again we do acknowledge, that the Scriptures cited in the margin of your Majesties Paper, do prove, that the Apostles in their own persons, that *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, had power respectively to do those things which are in those places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now also, we humbly do deny, that any of the persons or Officers aforementioned were Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters, or did exercise Episcopall Government in that sense: or that this was in the least measure proved by the alledged Scriptures; and therefore our *Negative* not being to the same point, or state of the Question which was *affirmed*, we humbly conceive that we should not be interpreted to have in effect denyed the very same thing which we had before granted, or to have acknowledged that the severall Scriptures do prove the thing for which they are cited by your Majesty: and if that which we granted were all, that by the Scriptures cited in your margin your Majesty inten-

ded to prove; It will follow, That nothing hath yet been proved on your Majesties part, to make up that conclusion which is pretended.

As then we stood upon the Negative to that assertion, so we now crave leave to represent to your Majesty, that your reply doth not infirm the evidence given in maintenance thereof. The Reason given by your Majesty, in this paper, to support your assertion, That the persons that exercised the power aforesaid were Bishops in distinct sense, is taken from a description of Episcopall Government; 'Which is 'as your Majesty saith) nothing else, but the 'Government of the Churches within a certain 'precinct (commonly called a Dioceſſe) com-'mitted to one single person, with sufficient au-'thority over the Presbyters and people of 'those Churches for that end; which Govern-'ment so prescribed, being for substance of the 'thing it self in all the three forementioned par-'ticulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, 'and Censures) found in Scriptures, except we 'will contend about names and words, must be 'acknowledged in the sense aforesaid to be suf-'ficiently proved from Scriptures: and your 'Majesty saith further, that the Bishops do not 'challenge more, or other power to belong to 'them, in respect of their Episcopall Office, as it 'is distinct from that of Presbyters, then what 'properly falls under one of those three.

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We deſire to ſpeak both to the Biſhops *challenge*, and to your Majeſties *Deſcription* of *Epiſcopall Government*. And firſt to their Challenge; becauſe it is firſt expreſt in your MAJESTIES Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Reſpects: 1. In reſpect of the *power* challenged. 2. In reſpect of that ground or *Tenure* upon which the claim is laid. The power challenged conſiſts of three particulars; *Ordaining*, *giving Rules* of Diſcipline, and *Cenſures*. No more, no other, in reſpect of their Epiſcopall office. We ſee not by what warrant this writ of partition is taken forth, by which the Apoſtolicall office is thus ſhared or divided; the *Governing* part into the Biſhops hands; the *teaching*, and *adminiſtring* Sacraments, into the Presbyters. For beſides that the Scripture makes no ſuch incloſure, or partition-wall; it appears the challenge is grown to more then was pretended unto in the times of grown Epiſcopacy. *Jerome* and *Chryſoſtome* do both acknowledge for their time, that the Biſhop and Presbyter differed onely in the matter of Ordination: and learned Doctor *Bilſon* maks ſome abatement in the claim of *three*, ſaying, the things proper to Biſhops, which might not be common to Presbyters, are ſingularly of Succeeding, and Superiority in ordaining.

The *tenure* or ground upon which the claim is made, is Apoſtolicall, which with us is all one

with *Divine Institution*. And this, as far as we have learned, hath not been *anciently*, *openly*, or *generally* avowed in this Church of *England*, either in time of Popery, or of the first Reformation; and whensoever the pretension hath been made, it was not without the contradiction of learned and godly men. The abettors of the challenge, that they might resolve it at last into the Scripture, did chuse the most plausible way of ascending by the way of *Succession*; going up the River to find the Head: but when they came to Scriptures, and found it like the head of *Nile* (which cannot be found) they shrowded it under the name and countenance of the *Angels of the Churches*, and of *Timothy* and *Titus*. Those that would carry it higher, endevoured to imp it into the *Apostolicall office*, and so at last called it a *Divine institution*, not in force of any *expresse precept*, but *implicite practise* of the Apostles: and so the *Apostolicall office* (excepting the gifts, or enablements confest onely extraordinary) is brought down to be *Episcopall*, and the *Episcopall* raised up to be *Apostolicall*. Whereupon it followes, that the *highest* Officers in the Church are put into a *lower* orb; an *extraordinary* office turned into an *ordinary distinct* office, confounded with that which in the Scripture is *not found*; a *temporary*, and an *extinct* office revived. And indeed, if the definitions of both be rightly made, they are so *incompatible* to the

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same subject, that he that will take both must lose the one; *aut Apostolus Episcopatum, aut Apostolatum Episcopus.* For the Apostles, though they did not in many things *ut aliud*, yet they acted *alio nomine & alio munere*, then Presbyters, or Bishops can do, and if they were indeed Bishops, and their government properly Episcopall in distinct sense, then it is not needfull to go so far about to prove Episcopal government of Divine institution, because they practised it: but to assert expresly that Christ instituted it immediately in them.

For your Majesties *definition* of Episcopall government, it is extracted out of the Bishops of later date then Scripture-times, and doth not suite with that Meridian, under which there were more Bishops then one in a Precinct, or Church; and it is as fully competent to Archepiscopall, and Patriarchal government as Episcopal. The parts of this definition, *materially* and *abstractly* considered, may be found in Scripture: The Apostles *Timothy* and *Titus*, were single persons, but not limited to a Precinct; the government of the *Angels* was limited to a Precinct, but not in single persons. In severall offices not to be confounded, the parts of this definition may be found; but the aggregation of them altogether into one ordinary officer cannot be found. And if that word, *ordinary and standing Government*, had been made the *genus* in your Majesties

definition (as it ought to be) we should crave leave to say it would be *gratis dictum*, if not *petitio principii*: for the Scripture doth not put all these parts together in a Bishop, who never borrowed of *Apostles*, *Evangelists* and *Angels* the matter of governing and ordaining, and left the other of teaching, dispensing Sacraments, and dealing onely *in foro interno*, to Prebyters, untill after times. By this that hath been said, it is manifest enough, that we contend not first *de nomine*, about the name of Episcopall Government; which yet (though names serve for distinction) is not called or distinguished by that name in Scripture. Nor secondly, *de opere*, about the work, whether the work of Governing, Ordering, preaching, &c. be of continuance in the Church, which we clearly acknowledge: But thirdly, *de munere*, about the Office, it being a great fallacy to argue, That the Apostles did the same work which Bishops or Presbyters are to do in ordinary; therefore they were of the same Office: for as it is said of the liberall and learned Arts, one and the same thing may be handled in divers of them, and yet these Arts are distinguisht by the *formalis ratio* of handling of them, so we say of Offices, they are distinguisht by their Callings and Commissions, though not by the work, as all those that are named, (*Ephes.* 4. 11.) *Apostles*, *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors*, and *Teachers*, are designed to one and the same generall

generall and common work, *The work of the Miniſtery*, verſ. 12. And yet they are not therefore all one, for its ſaid, *ſome* Apoſtles, *ſome* Prophets, *ſome* Evangeliſts, and *ſome* Paſtors and Teachers; a *Dictator* in *Rome* and an ordinary *Tribune*, *Moſes* and the ſubordinate Governours of *Iſrael*, The Court of *Parliament* and of the *Kings-Bench*, an *Apoſtle* and a *Presbyter* or *Deacon* may agree in ſome common work, and yet no confuſion of Offices followes thereupon.

To that which your Majeſty conceives, that the moſt that can be proved from all, or any of thoſe places, by us alledged (to prove that the Name, Office, and Work of Biſhops and Presbyters is one and the ſame in all things, and not in the leaſt diſtinguiſht) 'is, that the 'word Biſhop is uſed in them to ſignifie a 'Presbyter, and that conſequently the Office 'and Work, mentioned in theſe places as the 'Office and Work of a Biſhop, are the Office 'of a Presbyter, which is confeſſed on all ſides: We make this humble return; That though there be no ſuppoſition ſo much as implyed, that the Office of a Biſhop and a Presbyter are diſtinct in any thing (for the names are mutually reciprocall,) yet we take your Majeſties conceſſion, that in theſe times of the Church, & places of Scripture, there was no diſtinct Office of Biſhops and Presbyters; and conſequently that the identity of the Office muſt ſtand, until there

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can be found a clear distinction or division in the Scriptures: and if we had argued the identity of functions from the *community* of names, *and some part* of the work, the Argument might have been justly termed a *fallacy*; but we proved them the same Office from the same work, *per omnia*, being allowed so to do by the fulnesse of those two words used in the *Acts* and S. *Peter* his Epistle, ποιμαίνειν & ἐπισκοπεῖν; under the force of which words the Bishops claim their whole power of Government and Jurisdiction: and we found no little weight added to our Argument from that in the *Acts*, where the Apostle departing from the *Ephesian Presbyters or Bishops*, as *never to see their faces more*, commits (as by a final charge) the Government of that Church, both over particular Presbyters and people, not to *Timothy* who then stood at his elbow, but to the Presbyters under the name of Bishops, *made by the holy Ghost*, whom we read to have set many Bishops over our Chuch, not one over either one or many: and the Apostles arguing from the same qualification of a Presbyter and of a Bishop in order to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves them to be two names of the same Order or Function, the *diverse Orders* of Presbyter and Deacon being diverslly characterised: upon these grouuds (we hope without fallacy) we conceive it justly proved that a Bishop and a Presbyter are wholly the same.

That

That *Timothy* and *Titus* were single persons, having authority of Government, we acknowledge; but deny, that from thence any argument can be made unto either single Bishop or Presbyter: for though a single Presbyter by the power of his order (as they call it) may preach the Word and dispense the Sacraments; yet by that example of the Presbytery, their *laying on of hands*, and that rule of *telling the Church* in matter of scandall, it seems manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter: neither hath your Majesty hitherto proved either the names of Bishops and Presbyters, or the Function, to be in other places of Scripture at all distinguished; you having wholly waved the notice or answer of that we did insert (and do yet desire some demonstration of the contrary) *viz.* that the Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any *qualification*, any *ordination*, any *work* or *duty*, any *honour* peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put this question neare to an issue. That God should intend a distinct and highest kind of Officer for Government in the Church, and yet not express any qualification, work, or way of constituting and ordaining of him, seems unto us improbable. Concerning the signification of the word *Episcopus*, importing an Overseer, or one

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that hath a charge committed to him: for instance, of watching a Beacon, or *keeping Sheep*; & the application of the name to such persons as have inspection of the Churches of Christ committed to them *in spiritualibus*: we also give our suffrage, but not to that distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, & *Epispus pastorũ & gregis*, both because it is the τὸ κειμενον or point in question; and also because your Majesty having signified that *Episcopus* imports a *keeper of sheep*, yet you have not said that it signifies also a *keeper of shepherds*. 'As to that which is 'affirmed by your Maj. that the peculiar of the 'function of Bishops is Ch. government; & that 'the reason why the word *Episcopus* is so usually 'applyed to Presbytery, was, because Church-go-'vernours had then another title of greater emi-'nency, to wit, that of *Apostles*, until the govern-'ment of the Churches came into the hands of 'their successors, and then the names were by 'common usage very soon appropriated, that 'of *Episcopus* to Ecclesiasticall Governours, 'that of *Presbyter* to the ordinary Ministers: This assertion your Majesty is pleased to make without any demonstration; for the Scripture calls Presbyters Rulers, and Pastors and Teachers it calls Governours, and commits to them the charge of feeding and inspection, as we have proved, and that without any mention of Church-Government peculiar to Bishops: we deny not but some of the Fathers have conceived

ved the notion that Biſhops were called Apoſtles, till the names of *Presbyter* and *Epiſcopus* became appropriate, which is either an alluſion or conceit, without evidence of Scripture: for, while the Function was one the names were not divided; when the Function was divided, the name was divided alſo, and indeed impropriate; but we that look for the ſame warrant for the diviſion of an office as for the conſtitution, cannot find that this appropriation of names was made till afterwards, or in proceſſe of time, as *Theodoret* (one of the Fathers of this conceit) affirmes, whoſe ſaying; when it is run out of the pale of Scripture-time we can no further follow: from which premiſes laid altogether, we did conclude the clearneſſe of our aſſertion, that in the *Scriptures of the New Teſtament*, a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter in *Qualification*, *Ordination*, *Office* or *Dignity*, is not found; the contrary whereof though your Majeſty ſaith, that you have ſeen confirmed by great variety of credible teſtimonies; yet we believe theſe teſtimonies are rather ſtrong in aſſerting, than in demonſtrating the Scriptures Original of a Biſhop, which is declared againſt by a cloud of witneſſes, named in the later end of our former Anſwer; unto which we ſhould refer, if matter of right were not proper-triable by Scripture, as matter of fact is by teſtimony.

We

We said that the Apostles were the highest order of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordinary, that they were distinguished from all other Officers, and that their government was not *Episcopall*, but *Apostolicall*: to which answer, your Majesty being not satisfied, doth oppose certain assertions; 'That Christ himself 'and the Apostles received their authority by 'Mission, their ability by Unction; that the mis-'sion of the Apostles was ordinary, and to conti-'nue to the end of the world, but the Unction 'whereby they were enabled to both Offices 'and Functions, Teaching and Governing, was in-'deed extraordinary; that in their Unction they 'were not necessarily to have Successors, but ne-'cessarily in their mission or office of teaching 'and governing; that in these two ordinary of-'fices, their ordinary successors are Presbyters 'and Bishops; that Presbyters *qua* Presbyters do 'immediately succeed them in the office of tea-'ching, and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in 'the office of governing: The demonstration of which last alone would have carried in it more conviction then all these assertions put together. Officers are distinguished by that whereby they are constituted, their commission, which being produced signed by one place of Scripture, gives surer evidence, than a Pedigree drawn forth by such a *series of distinctions as do not distinguish him into another office from a Presbyter*: whether this

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chain of distinctions be strong, and the links of it sufficiently tack'd together, we crave leave to examine; *Christ*, saith your Majesty, was the *Apostle and Bishop* of our souls, and he made the Apostles both Apostles and Bishops; we do not conceive that your Majesty means that the Apostles succeeded Christ as the chief Apostle, and that as Bishops they succeeded Christ as a Bishop, lest thereby Christ his *Mission*, as an *Apostle and Bishop*, might be conceived as ordinary as their *Mission* is said to be: But we apprehend your Majesty to mean, that the office of Apostle and Bishop was eminently contained in Christs office, as the office of a Bishop was eminently contained in that of Apostleship, but thence it wil not follow, that *inferiour* offices being contained in the *superiour eminently*, are therefore existent in it *formally*; for because all *honours and dignities* are eminently contained in your Majesty, would it therefore follow that your Majesty is formally and distinctly a Baron of the Realm, as it is asserted, the Apostles to have been Bishops in distinct sense? That *Mission* refers to office and authority, and *Unction* onely to ability, we cannot consent; for besides that the breathing of Christ upon his Disciples, saying, *Receive ye the holy Ghost*, doth refer to *mission* as well as *unction*; we conceive that in the proper *anoynting of Kings*, or other Officers, the naturall use and effect of oyl upon the body was not so much intended

tended, as the ſolemn and ceremonious uſe of it in the inauguration of them; ſo there is relation to office in unction, as well as to conferring of abilities; elſe how are Kings, or Prieſts, or Prophets ſaid to be anointed? And what good ſenſe could be made of that expreſſion in Scripture, of anointing one in anothers room; to omit, that Chriſt by this conſtruction ſhould be called the *Meſsias*, in reſpect of abilities onely? And although we ſhould grant your Majeſties explication of *Miſsion* and *Unction*, yet it will not follow that the *Miſsion* of the Apoſtles was ordinary, and their *Unction* onely extraordinary: that into which there is ſucceſſion, was ordinary; that into which there is no ſucceſſion (for ſucceſſion is not unto abilities or gifts) extraordinary; and ſo the Apoſtles were ordinary officers in all, whereunto there is properly any ſucceſſion, and that is *office*. They differed from Biſhops in that wherein one Apoſtle or Officer of the ſame order might differ from another, to wit, in abilities and meaſure of ſpirit, but not in that wherein one order of Officers is above another by their office; to which we cannot give conſent: for ſince no man is denominated an officer from his meer abilities or gifts, ſo neither can the Apoſtles be called extraordinary officers, becauſe of extraordinary gifts; but that the Apoſtles miſſion & office (as well as their abilities) was extraordinary and temporary, doth appear in that it was by immediate

diate Commission from Christ without any intervention of men, either in Election or Ordination, for planting an authoritative governing of all Churches through the World, comprehending in it all other Officers of the Church whatsoever; and therefore it seems to us very unreasonable, that the office and authority of the Apostles should be drawn down to an ordinary, thereby to make, as it were, a fit *stock*, into which the ordinary office of a Bishop may be *ingrafted*; nor doth the continuance of Teaching and Governing in Christ himself, render his office therefore Ordinary. The reason given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing was ordinary in the Apostles, because of the continuance of them in the Church (we crave leave to say) is that great mistake which runs though the whole file of your Majesties discourse; for though there be a succession in the *work* of Teaching and Governing, yet there is no Succession in the *Commission or office*, by which the Apostles performed them; for the office of *Christ*, of *Apostles*, of *Evangelists*, of *Prophets*, is thence also concluded Ordinary, as to *Teaching* and *Governing*, and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary *eatenus* destroyed; the Succession may be into the same *work*, not into the same *Commission and office*; the ordinary Officers, which are to manage the work of Teaching and governing, are constituted, setled and limited by warrant of

Scripture, as by another Commiſſion then that which the Apoſtles had. And if your Majeſty had ſhewn us ſome Record out of Scripture, warranting the diviſion of the Office of teaching and governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Biſhops, the queſtion had been determined, otherwiſe we muſt look upon the diſſolving of the Apoſtolicall Office, and diſtribution of it into theſe two hands, as the dictate of men who have a mind, by ſuch a precarious Argument, to challenge to themſelves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyters.

In our anſwer to the inſtances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bilſon* acknowledgeth to be the main erection of Epiſcopall power, if the proofs of their being Biſhops, do ſtand; or ſubverſion, if the anſwer that they were Evangeliſts be good) your Majeſty finds very little ſatisfaction, though all that is ſaid therein could be proved.

Firſt, becauſe the Scripture no where implyeth any ſuch things at all, that *Titus* was an Evangeliſt, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was ſo.

1. The name of *Biſhop*, *the Scripture neither* ‘*expreſly nor by implication gives to either*, the ‘work which they are injoyned to do is com‘mon to Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Paſtors; and ‘Teachers

'Teachers, and cannot of it ſelf make a cha-'racter of one diſtinct and proper office: But that there was ſuch an order of *Officers* in the Church as Evangeliſts reckoned amongſt the extraordinary and temporary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus* were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow-labourers with the Apoſtles, ſent abroad to ſeverall Churches as occaſion did require, it is (as we humbly conceive) clear enough in Scripture, and not denied by the learned defenders of Epiſcopall Government, nor (as we remember) by *Scultetus* himſelf during the time of their travailes.

'2. To that which Your Majeſty ſecondly 'ſaith, That we cannot make it appear by any 'Text of Scripture that the Office of Evangeliſts 'is ſuch as we have deſcribed, his work ſeeming, '2 *Tim.* 2. 4. 5. to be nothing elſe but diligence 'in preaching the Word, notwithſtanding all 'impediments and oppoſitions We humbly anſwer, That *exact definitions* of theſe or other Church-Officers are hard to be found in any Text of Scripture, but by comparing one place of Scripture with another; it may be proved as well what they were, as what the Apoſtles and Presbyters were, the deſcription by us given being a Character made up by collation of Scriptures, from which Maſter *Hooker*, *Eccleſ. Polit.*

*lib.*5. doth not much vary, saying, that *Evangelists were Presbyters of principall sufficiency, whom the Apostles sent abroad and used as Agents in Ecclesiasticall Affaires, whersoever they saw need.* And that *Pastors* and *Teachers* were setled in some certain charge, and thereby differed from *Evangelists*, whose work that it should be nothing bnt diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and so not distinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the Apostles Office was divided into Episcopall and Apostolicall, so this also is to be divided in Episcopall and Evangelicall; Ordination and Censures belonging to *Timothy* as a Bishop, and diligence in preaching onely being left to the *Evangelists*, which division (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted by the Scripture.

'Thirdly, Your Majesty saith, that that which 'we so confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, 'their acting as Evangelists, is by some *denied* and '*refuted*, yea even with scorn *rejected* by some 'rigid Presbyterians; and that which we so con'fidently deny, that they were Bishops, is *con*'*firmed* by the consentient testimony of all An'tiquity, recorded by *Jerome* himself, that they 'were Bishops of Saint *Pauls* ordination, ac'knowledged by very many late Divines; and 'that a Catalogue of 27 *Bishops of Ephesus* li'neally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good

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'Record, is vouched by Doctor *Reynolds*, and 'other Writers.

Our confidence (as your Majeſty is pleaſed to call it) was in our Anſwer expreſt in theſe words, *We cannot ſay* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops in the ſenſe of your Majeſty, but *extraordinary Officers or Evangeliſts*; in which opinion we were then clear, not out of a totall ignorance of thoſe Teſtimonies which might be alledged againſt it, but from intrinſick arguments out of Scripture, from which your Majeſty hath not produced any one to the contrary; nor is our confidence weakned by ſuch replyes as theſe, the *Scripture* never calls them Biſhops, but the *Fathers* do; the *Scripture* calls *Timothy* an *Evangeliſt*, ſome of late have refuted it, and rejected it with ſcorn; the *Scripture* relates their *motions* from Church to Church, but *ſome affirm* them to be fixed at *Epheſus* and in *Crete*; the *Scripture* makes diſtinction of Evangeliſts and Paſtors, but ſome ſay that *Timothy* and *Titus* were both; we cannot give your Majeſty a preſent account of *Scultetus* and *Gerhards* Arguments, but do believe that Mr. *Gilliſpi* and *Rutherfurd* are able with greater ſtrength to refute that opinion of *Timothy* & *Titus* their being Biſhops, then they do (if they do) with ſcorn reject this of their being Evangeliſts: As for *teſtimonies & catalogues*, though we undervalue them not, yet your Majeſty will be pleaſed to allow us the uſe of our Reaſon

so far as not to erect an Office in the Church, which is not found in Scripture upon *generall appellations*, or *titles*, and *allusions*, frequently found in the Fathers, especially when they speak *vulgarly*, and not as to a point in debate; for even *Jerome*, who, as your Majesty saith, doth Record, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were made Bishops, and that of S. *Pauls* Ordination, doth when he speaks to the point between your Majesty and us, give the Bishops to understand that they are superiour to Presbyters *consuetudine magis quam Dominicæ veritatis dispositione*; for *Catalogues* their credit rests upon the first witnesses from whom they are reported by *tradition* from hand to hand, whose writings are many times *supposititious*, *dubious*, or not *extant*; besides that these *Catalogues* do resolve themselves into some *Apostle* or *Evangelist* as the first *Bishop*; as the Catalogue of *Jerusalem* into the Apostle *James*, that of *Antioch* into *Peter*, that of *Rome* into *Peter* and *Paul*, that of *Alexandria* into *Mark*, that of *Ephesus* into *Timothy*; which Apostles and Evangelists can neither themselves be degraded by being made Bishops, nor be succeeded in their proper calling or office: and it is easie for us to proceed the same way, and to find many ancient rites and customs generally received in the Church (counted by the ancients *Apostolicall traditions*) as neer the Apostles times as Bishops, which yet are confessedly not of *Divine institution*: and further,

ther, if *Timothy* and the reſt that are firſt in the *Catalogue*, were Biſhops with ſuch ſole power of Ordination and Cenſures as is aſſerted, how came their pretended Succeſſors, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the Fathers themſelves call them) to loſe ſo much Epiſcopall power as was in their predeceſſours, and as was not recovered in three hundred years? and therefore we cannot upon any thing yet ſaid, recede from that of our Saviour, *ab initio non fuit ſic*, from the being it was not ſo.

'Your Majeſty ſaith, that we affirm but up-
'on very weak proofs, that they were from *E-*
'*pheſus* and *Crete* removed to other places, the
'contrary whereunto hath been demonſtrated
'by ſome, who have exactly out of Scripture,
'compared the times, and order of the ſeverall
'journeyes, and ſtations of *Paul* and *Timothy*.

It is confeſſed that our aſſertion, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangeliſts, lies with ſome ſtreſs upon this, that they *removed from place to place*, as they were *ſent by* or *accompanied* the Apoſtles, the proof whereof appears to us to be of greater ſtrength then can be taken off by the compariſon which your Majeſty makes of the *Divines of the Aſſembly at Weſtminſter*. We begin with the *Travails* of *Timothy*, as we find them in order recorded in the Scripture-places cited in the Margin; and we *ſet forth* from *Berea*, *Act.* 17. 14. where we finde *Timothy*; then next at *Athens*,

*v.*15. from whence *Paul* sends him to *Thessalonica*, 1 *Thes.*3.1,2. afterward having been in *Macedonia*, he came to *Paul* at *Corinth*, *Act.*18.5. and after that, he is with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*. *Acts* 19.22. whither S. *Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy* accompanied into *Asia*, *Act.*20.4. who was with him at *Troas*, *v.*5,6. who was with him at at *Miletus*, *verse* 17. to which place Saint *Paul* sent for the Presbyters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that solemn charge to take heed unto *themselves* and to all the *flock* over which the holy Ghost had made them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommendation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the Elders. And if *Timothy* were *Bishop of Ephesus*, he must be so when the *first Epistle* was sent to him, in which he is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his Episcopall power in Ordination and government; but it is manifest that after this Epistle sent to him, he was in continuall journeys, or absent from *Epheſu*; For *Paul* left him at *Ephesus* when he went from *Macedonia*, 1 *Tim.* 1.3. and he left him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church, and in ordaining; but it was after this time that *Timothy* is found with *Paul*, at *Miletus*; for after *Paul* had been at *Miletus*, he went to *Jerusalem*, whence he was sent prisoner at *Rome*, and never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*,

Heb.

Heb. 13.23. *Phil.* 1. 1. *Philem.* v. 1. *Col.* 1. 1. *Heb.* 13.23. we find *Timothy* a priſoner with him; and theſe Epiſtles which *Paul* wrote while he was priſoner at *Rome*, namely, the Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Coloſsians*, to the *Hebrews*, do make mention of *Timothy* as his companion at theſe times; nor do we ever find him again at *Epheſus*, for we find that *after all this*, toward the end of S. *Pauls* life, after his firſt anſwering before *Nero*, and when he ſaid his departing was at hand, he ſent for *Timothy* to *Rome*, not from *Epheſus*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 6, 10, 11, 12, 16. for it ſeems that *Timothy* was not there, becauſe *Paul* giving *Timothy* an account of the abſence of the moſt of his companions ſent into divers parts, he ſaith *Tychicus* have I ſent to *Epheſus*. Now if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to caſt up into one totall that which is ſaid; the ſeverall journeys and ſtations of *Timothy*, the order of them, the time ſpent in them, the nature of his employment, to *negotiate affairs of Chriſt in ſeveral Churches and places*, the ſilence of the Scriptures as touching his being Biſhop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that ſuch a man was not a Biſhop fixed to one Church or precinct; and then by aſſuming that *Timothy* was ſuch a man, you will conclude that he was not a Biſhop of *Epheſus*.

The like concluſion may be enforced from the like premiſes, from the inſtance of *Titus*, whom

whom we find at *Jerusalem*, *Gal.* 1.2. before he came to *Crete*, from whence he is sent for to *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 3.12. and after that he is sent to *Corinth*, from whence he is expected at *Troas*, 2 *Cor.* 2.12. and met with *Paul* in *Macedonia*, 2 *Cor.* 5.6. whence he is sent again to *Corinth*, 2 *Cor.* 8.6. and after all this is near the time of *Pauls* death at *Rome*; from whence he went not into *Crete*, but unto *Dalmatia*, 2 *Tim.* 4.10. and after this is not heard on in the Scripture; and so we hope your Majesty doth conceive, that we affirm not upon very *weak proofs*, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places.

In the fifth exception your Majesty takes notice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that they were called away from those places of *Ephesus* and *Crete*; which if they do not conclude much of themselves, yet being accompanied by *two other places* which your Majesty takes no notice of, may seem to conclude more; and these are 1 *Tim.* 1.3. *Tit.* 1.5. *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, for this cause left I thee in Crete*; in both which is specified the occasionall employment for which they made stay in those places: and the expressions used, *I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, I left thee in Crete*, do not sound like words of *installment* of a man into a Bishoprick, but of an *intendment* to call them away again; and if the first and last be

be put together, his *actuall revocation* of them both, the intimation of his intention, that they should not stay there for continuance, and the reason of his beseeching the one to stay, and of his leaving the other behind him, which was some present defects and distempers in those Churches, they will put fair to prove that the Apostle *intended not* to establish them Bishops of those places, and therefore *did not*. For the *Post-scripts*, because your Majesty layes no great weight upon them, we shall not be solicitous in producing evidence against them, though they do bear witnesse in a matter of fact, which in our opinion *never was*, and in your Majesties judgement, *was long before they were born*; and so we conclude this discourse about *Timothy* and *Titus* with this observation, That in the same very Epistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, out of which your Majesty hath endeavoured to prove that he was a Bishop, and did exercise Episcopall Government, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters *imposing hands* in ordination and for their *ruling*.

In the next point concerning the Angels of the Churches, though your Majesty saith, 'that 'you lay no weight upon the *Allegory* or *Mystery* 'of the denomination; yet you assert, that the 'persons bearing that name were *personæ singulares*, and in a word *Bishops*, who yet are never so called in Scripture; and the allegoricall denomination of Angels or Stars, which in the judgement

ment of ancient and modern Writers doth belong to the faithfull Ministers and Preachers of the Word in generall, is appropriate (as we may so say) to the *Mitre* and *Crosier-staff*, and so opposed to many expres testimonies of Scripture: And if your Majesty hath been particular in that, wherein you say the strength of your instance lies, *viz.* The judgement of all ancient, and of the best modern Writers, and many probabilities in the Text it self; we hope to have made it apparent, that many ancient and eminent Writers, many probabilities of the Text it self do give evidence to the contrary. To that which is asserted, that these singular persons were Bishops in distinct sense, whether we brought any thing of moment to infirm this, we humbly submit to your Majesties judgement, and shall onely represent to you, that in your Reply you have not taken notice of that which in our Answer seemes to us of moment, which is this, That in *mysterious* and *prophetick writings*, or *visionall representations* (such as this of the Stars and golden Candlesticks is) a number of things or persons is usually expres'd *in singulars*; and this in visions is the usuall way of Representation of things; a *thousand persons* making up one Church, is represented by one *Candlestick*; many Ministers making up one Presbytery by one Angel. And because your Majesty seems to call upon us to be particular, though we cannot

not name the Angels, nor are ſatisfied in our judgement, that thoſe whom ſome do undertake to name, were intended by the name of Angels in thoſe Epiſtles; yet we ſay, Firſt, that theſe Epiſtles were ſent unto the Churches, and that under the expreſſion of *this thou doſt*, or *this thou haſt*, and the like, the Churches are reſpectively intended, for the *ſin reproved*, the *repentance commanded*, the *puniſhments threatned*, are to be referred to the Churches, and not to the ſingular Angels onely; and yet we do not think that *Salmatius* did inrend, nor do we, that in formall denomination the *Angels* and *Candleſticks* are the ſame.

Secondly, the Angels of theſe Churches or Rulers were a *collective body*, which we endeavoured to prove by ſuch probabilities as your Majeſty takes no notice of, namely the inſtance of the Church of *Epheſus*, where there are many Biſhops, to whom the charge of that Church was by S. *Paul* at his finall departure from them committed; as alſo by that expreſſion, *Revelat.* 2.24. To you, and to the reſt in *Thiatyra*; which diſtinction makes it very probable, that the *Angel* is explained under that *plurality*, *to you*; the like to which many expreſſions may be found in theſe Epiſtles, which to interpret according to the conſentient evidence of other Scriptures of the New Teſtament, is not ſafe onely, but ſolid and evidentiall.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, these Writings are directed as Epistolary Letters to *Collective Bodies* usually are (that is) to *One*, but intended to the *Body*; which your Majesty illustrateth by your sending a Message to your Two Houses, and directing it to the *Speaker of the House of Peers*, which, as it doth not hinder (we confess) but that the *Speaker is one single person*, so it doth not prove at all, that the *Speaker is alwayes the same person*; or if he were, that therefore because your Message is directed to him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler* of the two Houses in the least; and so your Majesty hath given clear instance, that though these Letters be directed to the Angels, et that notwithstanding they might neither be Bishops, nor yet *perpetual moderators*. For the severall opinions specified in your MAJESTIS Paper, *three* of them, by easie and fair accommodation (as we declared before) are soon reduced and united amongst themselves, & may be holden without *recesse* from the received judgement of the *Christian Church*, by such as are far from meriting that aspersion which is cast upon the *Reformed Divines* by Popish Writers, that they have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the *Christian Church*; which imputation, we hope, was not in your Majesties intention to lay upon us, untill it be made cleare that it is the common and received judgement of the *Christian Church* that *now is*, or of that in

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former Ages, that the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, having Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will deny, that the Apostles were to have any Successours in their Office, and affirmed onely *two Orders* of *Ordinary* and *Standing Officers* in the Church, *viz. Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Concerning the former of which your MAJESTY refers to what you had in part already declared; 'That in those 'things which were extraordinary in the Apo-'stles, as namely the measure of their Gifts, &c. 'They had no Successours *in eundem gradum*; 'but in those things which were not extraordina-'ry, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Go-'vernment (which are necessary for the Service 'of the Church in all Times) they were to have 'and had no Successours: Where your Majesty delivers a Doctrine *new* to us; Namely, that the Apostles had Successours into their Offices, not into their abilities: For besides, that Succession is not properly into Abilities, but into Office; We cannot say, that one succeeds another in his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room and Function: we conceive, that the office Apostolicall was extraordinary *in whole*, because their Mission and Commission was so, and the service or work of Teaching and Governing being to continue in all times doth not render their Office ordinary; as the Office of *Moses* was not ren-

rendred ordinary, because many works of Government exercised by him, were recommitted to the *standing Elders of Israel*: And if they have Successors, it must be either into their whole office, or into some parts: their Successors into the whole (however differing from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) must be called Apostles; the same Office gives the same Denomination; and then we shall confess that Bishops, if they be their Successors in office, are of *Divine Institution*, because the Apostolicall Office was so; if their Successors come into part of their Office onely, the Presbyters may as well be called their Successors, as the Bishops, and so indeed they are called by some of the ancient Fathers, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Hierom*, and others; whereas in truth the Apostles have not properly Successors into office, but the ordinary power of teaching and governing (which is setled in the Church for continuance) is instituted and setled in the hands of ordinary officers by a *new warrant* and Commission according to the rules of Ordination and calling in the Word, which the Bishop hath not yet produced for himself, and without which he cannot challenge it upon the generall alluſive speeches used by the Fathers without scruple.

And whereas your Majesty numbers the *extent* of their work amongst those things which were *extraordinary* in the Apostles, we could wish

that

that you had declared whether it belong to their Mission or Unction; for we humbly conceive, that their authoritative power to do their work in all places of the world, did properly belong to their Mission, and consequently that their Office, as well as their Abilities, was extraordinary, and so by your *Majesties own confession* not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the orders of standing Officers of the Church, your Majesty doth reply, 'That although in the places cited, *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* '3.8. there be no mention but of the *two orders onely of Bishops, or Presbyters and Deacons*; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing office in the Church besides; which we humbly conceive is justly proved, not onely because there are no other named, but because there is no rule of ordaining any *third*, no warrant or *way of Mission*, and so the Argument is as good as can be made, *à non causa ad non effectum*; for we do not yet apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Apostolick office, do also pretend to the same manner of Mission; nor do we know that those very many Divines that have asserted *two orders onely*, have concluded it from any other grounds than the Scriptures cited.

There appears (as your Majesty saith) two other manifest reasons why the office of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those

places. And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest than these two, *viz.* because *it was not*.

'The one reason given by your Majesty, is, be-'cause in the Churches which the Apostles 'themselves planted, they placed Presby-'ters under them for the office of teaching, 'but reserved in their *own hands* the power of 'governing those Churches for a longer or shor-'ter time before they set Bishops over them. Which, under your Majesties favour, is not so much a reason why *Bishops are not mentioned* to be in those places, as they indeed were not; the variety of reasons (may we say, or conjectures) rendred why Bishops were not set up *at first*, as namely, because *fit men* could not be so soon found out, which is *Epiphanius* his reason, or for remedy of *Schisme*, which is *Jerom*'s reason; or because the Apostles saw it not *expedient*, which is your MAJESTIES reason; doth shew that this cause labours under a manifest weakness: for the Apostles reserving in their own hands the power of governing, we grant it, they could no more devest themselves of power of governing, then (as Doctor *Bilson* saith) they could lose their Apostleship: had they set up Bishops in all Churches, they had no more parted with their power of governing, than they did in set-ting up the Presbyters; for we have proved that Presbyters being called *Rulers*, *Governours*, *Bishops*,

Bishops, had the power of governing in *ordinary* committed to them, as well as the office of *Teaching*, and that both the *Keyes* (as they are called) being by our Saviour committed into *one hand*, were not by the Apostles divided into *two*: nor do we see how the Apostle could reasonably commit the government of the Church to the Presbyters of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. and yet reserve the power of governing (*viz.* in ordinary) in his own hands, who took *his solemn leave of them, as never to see their faces more*. As that part of the power of government, which for distinction sake may be called *Legislative*, and which is one of the three forementioned things challenged by the Bishops, *viz. Giving Rules*, the reserving of it in the Apostles hands hindred not, but that in your MAJESTIES judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives rules for ordering and governing of the Church: Nor is there any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part of the power of governing which is called executive, in such cases and upon such occasions as they thought meet, should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reserving of power in their hands can be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops *at the first*, then that they *never did*. And since (by your Majesties confession) the Presbyters were placed by

the Apostles *first* in the Churches by them planted, and that with power of governing, as we prove by Scripture, you must prove the *super-institution* of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the Apostles in some after-times, or else we must conclude that the Bishop got both his name and power of government out of the Presbyters hand, as the *tree in the wall* roots out the stones by little and little as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majesty saith, it may be probable there was *yet no Bishop*, it is certain there were *many*, like them, who were also at *Ephesus*, to whom if onely the office of Teaching did belong, they had the most laborious and honourable part, that which was less honourable being reserved in the Apostles hands, and the Churches left in the mean time without ordinary government.

The other reason given why two Orders onely are mentioned in those places, is, because he wrote in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to them that were Bishops, so there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice and qualification of any other sort of Officers than such as belonged to their ordination and inspection, which were Presbyters and Deacons onely, and no Bishops.

The former reason why two onely Orders are mentioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians*, was, because *there was yet no Bishop*; this later reason

ſon why the ſame two onely are mentioned in theſe Epiſtles, is, becauſe there was *no Biſhop to be ordained*; we might own the reaſon for good, if there may be found any rule for the ordination of the other order of Biſhops in ſome other place of Scripture; but if the *Ordination cannot be found*, how ſhould we *find the Order?* and it is reaſonable to think, that the Apoſtle in the chapter formerly alledged, 1 *Tim.* 3. where he paſſes immediately from the Biſhop to the Deacon, would have diſtinctly expreſt, or at leaſt hinted, what ſort of Biſhop he meant, whether the *Biſhop over Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-Biſhop*, to have avoided the confuſion of the name, and to have ſet as it were ſome mark of difference in the *Eſcheocheon* of the Presbyter-Biſhop, if there had been ſome other Biſhop of a *bigger houſe*. And whereas your Majeſty ſaith, there was no need to write to them about a Biſhop in a diſtinct ſenſe, who belonged not to their ordination and inſpection; we conceive, that in your Majeſties judgement, Biſhops might then have ordained Biſhops like themſelves; for there was then no *Canon* forbidding one ſingle Biſhop to ordain another of his own rank; and there being many Cities in *Crete*, *Titus* might have found it expedient (as thoſe ancient Fathers that call him Arch-biſhop think he did) to have ſet up Biſhops in ſome of thoſe Cities: ſo that this reaſon fights againſt the principles of thoſe that hold *Timothy* and *Titus* to have

been Bishops; for our part we believe that these rules belonged not to *Timothy* and *Titus* with strict limitation to *Ephesus* and *Crete*, but respectively to all the places or Churches where they might come, and to all that shall at any time have the office of ordaining and governing, as it is written in the same Chapter, 1 *Tim.* 3.14,15. *Those things I have written unto thee, &c. that thou maist know how to behave thy self in the house of God*, which is the *Church*; & therefore if there had been any proper character or qualification of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, if any *Ordination* or *Office*, we think the Apostle would have signified it, but because he did not, we conclude (and the more strongly from the insufficiency of your Majesties two reasons) that there are onely *two orders of Officers*, and consequently that a Bishop is not superiour to a Presbyter: for we find not (as we said in our Answer) that one Officer is superiour to another who is of the same order.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

'Your Majesty having in your first Paper said, 'that you could not in conscience consent to 'abolish Episcopall Government, because you 'did conceive it to be of *Apostolical institution*, practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them 'committed and derived to particular persons as 'their Successors, and hath ever since, till these 'last

'laſt times been exerciſed by Biſhops in all the 'the Churches of Chriſt: We thought it neceſ-ſary in our Anſwer, to ſubjoyne to that we had ſaid out of the Scriptures, the judgement of di-vers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Bi-ſhops were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Eccleſiaſticall Inſtitution*; as that which might very much conduce both to the eaſing of your Majeſties ſcruple, to conſider, that howſoever Epiſcopall Government was generally currant, yet the ſuperſcription was not judged Divine, by ſome of thoſe that either were themſelves Bi-ſhops, or lived under that government; and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold, from the prejudice of *Novelliſme*, or of *receſſe* from the judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that *Chryſoſtome* and *Auſtin* were Biſhops, as that *Ariſtole* was a Philoſopher, *Cicero* an Orator; though we ſhould rather call our faith and belief thereof certain in matter of fact, upon humane teſtimonies uncontrolled, then infallible in re-ſpect of the Teſtimonies themſelves. But where-as your Majeſty ſaith, 'That the darkneſſe of 'the Hiſtory of the Church, in the times ſuccee-'ding the Apoſtles, is a ſtrong argument for 'Epiſcopacy, which notwithſtanding that dark-'neſſe hath found ſo full proof by unqueſtioned 'Catalogues, as ſcarce any other matter of fact 'hath found the like; We humbly conceive that

those forementioned times were dark to the Catalogue-makers, who must drive the *series* of Succession from and through those Historicall darknesses, and so make up their catalogues very much from tradition and reports, which can give no great evidence, because they agree not amongst themselves; that which is the great blemish of their evidence, is, that the neerer they come to the Apostles times (wherein they should be most of all clear to establish the Succession firm and clear at first) the more doubtful, uncertain, and indeed contradictory to one another, are the testimonies. Some say that *Clemens* was first Bishop of *Rome* after *Peter*, some say the third; and the intricacies about the order of Succession, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, and another called *Cletus* (as some affirm) are inextricable. Some say that *Titus* was Bishop of *Crete*, some say Archbishop, and some Bishop of *Dalmatia*. Some say that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*, and some say that *John* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the same time: some say that *Polycarpus* was first Bishop of *Smyrna*, another saith that he succeeded one *Buculus*, and another, that *Aristo* was first. Some say that *Alexandria* had but one Bishop, and other Cities two; and others, that there was but one Bishop of one City at the same time. And how should those Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be made up out of Testimonies that fight one with another?

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other? We must confesse, that the ancient Fathers, *Tertullian, Irenaus, &c.* made use of Succession, as an Argument against *Hereticks*, or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apostolici seminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side. But that which we now have in hand, is Succession in Office; which according to the Catalogues, resolves it self into some Apostle, or Evangelist, as the first Bishop of such a City or Place, who (as we conceive) could not be Bishops of those places, being of an higher Office; though according to the language of after-times, they might by them that drew up the Catalogues, be so called, because they *planted, and founded, or watered* those Churches to which they are entituled, and had their greatest residence in them: Or else the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence in the times and places where they lived, and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whereof themselves were members: from whom, to pretend the succession of after-Bishops, is as if it should be said, that *Cæsar* was Successor to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive, that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are asserted to be found in the Apostolicall and Primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine Institution; & which is an argument above all other

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ther, *the Fathers*, whose names we exhibited to your *Majesty* in our *answer*, were doubtlesse acquainted with the catalogues of Bishops who had been before them, and yet did hold them to be of *Ecclesiasticall Institution.*

And lest your *Majesty* might reply, That however the *testimonies* and *catalogues* may vary, or be mistaken in the *order* or *times*, or *names* of those *persons* that succeeded the *Apostles*, yet all agree, that there was a succession of some persons; and so, though the credit of the Catalogues be *infirmed*, yet the thing intended is *confirmed* thereby: We grant, that a succession of men to feed and govern those Churches, while they continued Churches, cannot be denied; and that the Apostles and Evangelists, that planted and watered those Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiasticall Writers, *in compliance with the Language and usage of their own times*, called Bishops; and so were other eminent men, of chief note, *presiding* in the *Presbyteries* of the Cities or Churches, called by such Writers as wrote after the division or *distinction* of the names of Presbyters & Bishops: But that those first and ancientest Presbyters were Bishops in proper sense, according to your Majesties description, invested with power over Presbyters and people, to whom (as distinct from Presbyters) did belong the power of *Ordaining*, *giving Rules*, and *Censures*, we hum-

humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent testimonies. And granting, that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times *seriatim*; yet if these from whom you draw, and through whom you derive it, be found either *more* then Bishops, as Apostles and extraordinary persons, or *lesse then* Bishops, as meerly *first* Presbyters, having not one of the *three essentialls to Episcopall government* (mentioned by your Majesty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the *Homonomy* and equivocall acceptation of the word *Episcopus*.

For *Clemens* his testimony, which your Majesty conceiveth to be made use of, as our old fallacy, from the *promiscuous* use of the words to infer the distinction of the things; we refer our selves to himself in his Epistle, now in all mens hands, whose testimony we think cannot be eluded, but by the old artifice, of *hiding the Bishop under the Presbyters name*: For they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered, that himself is called a Bishop, *may doubt of Clemens opinion* concerning his distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, or rather *not doubt* of it, if onely his one Epistle may be impaneld upon the Inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some *earnestnesse* of *expression*, charging some of late, without any regard

gard of *ingenuity* or *truth* out of their partiall disaffection to Bishops, to have endeavoured to discredit his writings. One of those cited by us, cannot (as we conceive) be suspected of disaffection to Bishops; and there are great argumentes drawn out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their insincerity, adulterate mixtures, and *interpolations*; so that *Ignatius* cannot be distinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we take him in grosse, we make him the *Patron* (as *Baronius* and the rest of the Popish writers do) of such rites and observations as the Church in his time cannot be thought to have *owned*. He doth indeed give testimony to the *Prelacy* of a Bishop above a Presbyter; that which may justly render him suspected, is, that he *gives too much honour* (saith he) *the Bishops* as Gods high Priests, *and after them* you must honour the *King*. He was indeed an holy *Martyr*, and his writings have suffered *Martyrdome* as well as he; *corruptions could not go currant but under the credit of worthy names.*

That which your Majesty saith in your fourth Paragraph, that we might have added (if we had pleased) That *James, Timothy, Titus, &c.* were constituted and ordained Bishops of the forementioned places respectively, and that all the Bishops of those times were reputed Successors to the *Apostles in their Episcopall office*: We could not have added it without prejudice (as we hum-

humbly conceive) to the truth; for the Apostles did not ordain *any of themselves Bishops*, nor could they do it; for even by your Majesties concession, they were Bishops before, *viz.* as they were Apostles, nor could any Apostle have his choice of a *certain Region* or place to exercise his function in, whilest he pleased, render him a Bishop any more then *Paul* was Bishop of the *Gentiles*, *Peter* of the *Circumcision*. Neither did the Apostles ordain the Evangelists Bishops of those places unto which they sent them: Nor were the Bishops of those times any more then, as your Majesty saith, *reputed Successors* to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office; they *came after* the Apostles in the Churches by them planted, so might Presbyters do; but that is not properly succession, at least not succession into office, and this we say with a *Salvo* to our assertion, that in those times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters: Neither do we understand, whether the words, *Episcopall office*, in this Section refer to the Bishops or Apostles; for in reference to Apostles, it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles office, into Apostolical and Episcopal, or that the office Apostolical was wholly Episcopal; unto neither of which we can give our consent for reasons forementioned. To the testimonies by us recited in proof of two onely Orders, Your Majesty answers first, that the promiscuous use of the names of Bishops and

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Presbyters, is imported, That which your Majesty not long ago called *our last fallacy*, is now your answer onely with this difference: We under promiscuous names hold the same Office; your Majesty under promiscuous names supposes two; which if as it is often asserted, was but once proved, we should take it for a determination of this controversie. Secondly, that they relate to a 'School-'point, or a nicety, *Utrum Episcopatus sit ordo* 'vel *gradus*, both sides of the questionists or 'disputants in the meane time *acknowledging* the 'right of Church-government in the Bishops alone; It is confest by us, that that question as it is stated by Popish Authors, is a *curious nicety*, to which we have no eye or reference; for though the same Officers may differ from and excell others of the same Order in gifts or qualifications, yet the Office it self is one and the same, without difference or degrees; as one Apostle or Presbyter is not superiour to another in degree of Office; they that are of the same order are of the same degree, in respect of Office, as having power and authority to the same Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or allow, any superiority of one over another of the same Order; and therefore the proving of two Orders onely in the Church, is a demonstration, that Presbyters and Bishops are the same. In which point the Scripture will counter-ballance the testimonies of those that assert three degrees or orders, though

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tem for one. But for eaſing of your Majeſty of the trouble of producing teſtimonies againſt thoſe cited by us, We make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both ſides may be diſcharged out of the field, and the point diſputed by Dint of holy Scripture; *id verum quod primum.*

Having paſſed through the argumentative parts of your Majeſties Reply, wherein we ſhould account it a great happineſſe to have given your Majeſty any ſatisfaction, in order whereunto you pleaſed to honour us with this imployment, We ſhall contract our ſelves in the remainder, craving your Majeſties pardon, if you ſhall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which followes. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royall Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamentall acceſſions granted to the perſon, do not make any ſubſtantiall change in the *Office*; the reall difference between that Epiſcopall Government which firſt obtained in the Church, and the preſent Hierarchie, conſiſts *in ipſo regimine & modo regiminis*, which cannot be clearly demonſtrated in particulars, untill it be agreed on both ſides, what that Epiſcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchie is now, and then it would appear, whether theſe three fore-mentioned eſſentialls of Epiſcopall Government, were the ſame in both: For the power under Chriſtian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the ſame, though the exerciſe

ercise be not. And we humbly receive your Majesties pious advertisement, (not unlike that of *Constantines*) stirring us up as men unbyassed with private interests, to study the neerest accommodation and best resemblance to the Apostolicall and primitive times. But for your Majesties *Salvo* to the Bishops sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and that distinction of Ordination, authoritative in the Bishop, and the Concomitant in the Presbytery, which you seem to found upon these two Texts, 2 *Tim.*1.6. 1 *Tim.*4.14. and which is used by Dr. *Bilson*, and other defenders of Episcopacy, in explication of that Canon of the fourth *Councel* of *Carthage*, which enjoyns the joynt imposition of the Bishops and Presbyters hands; We shall give your Majesty an account, when we shall be called to the disquisition thereof; Albeit that we do not for the present see, but that this *proviso* of your Majesty renders our accommodation to the Apostolicall and Primitive times (whereunto You did exhort us) unfeisable. We notwithstanding do fully professe our acknowledgement of *subordination* of the *outward exercise* of *Jurisdiction*, to the Soveraign *power*, and our accomptableness to the Laws of the Land. As for your Majesties *three questions* of great importance, Whether there be a certain form of government left by Christ or his Apostles to be observed by all Christian Churches; Whether it bind perpetually;

ally, or be upon occasion alterable in whole or in part; whether that certain form of government be the Episcopall, Presbyterian, or some other, differing from them both: the whole volume of Ecclesiasticall Polity is contained in them; and we hope that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular answer to them at this time, nor will take offence at us, if we hold onely to that which is the question, in order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for we humbly profess our readiness to serve your Majesty, answering these or any other questions within our proper *cognizance*, according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

For your Majesties condescention, in vouchsafing us the liberty and honour of examining your learned Reply, clothed in such excellency of style; and for your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we are; and for the acceptation of our humble duty, we render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abilities, may ever be employed in a subject worthy of it.

That your Majesty would please to consider, that in this point under debate, *Succession* is not the best *clew*, and most certain and ready way to find out the *Originall*; for to go that way, is to go the furthest way about, yea, to *go backward*; and when you are at the *spring*, *viz.* the *Scripture* it self, you goe to the *rivers end*, that you may seek the *spring*.

And that the Lord would guide your Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, by the *right hand* of his Counsell, and shew you a happy way of healing our unhappy differences, and of setling the Common-wealth of Jesus Christ, which is the Church, so as all the members thereof may be under you in all godlinesse, peace and honesty.

His Majesties *finall Answer concerning Episcopacy*, Novemb. 1. 1648.

WHat you have offered by way of Reply to His Majesties second Paper of *Octob.* 6. in yours of *Octob.* 17. in order to the further satisfaction of his conscience in the point of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard, when it was publickly read by you, with diligent attention, and hath since (so far as his leisure would permit) taken the same into his private and serious consideration; wherein his Majesty not onely acknowledgeth your great pains and endeavours to inform his judgement, according to such perswasions as your selves have in the matter in debate, but also taketh speciall notice of the civility of your applications to him both in the body and conclusion of your Reply: yet he cannot but observe withall, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough there-

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unto in this Reply. Which to have ſhewn, will ſufficiently remonſtrate your preſent Reply to be unſatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular anſwer to every paſſage in it, which to a paper of that length would require more time than his Majeſty can think fit (amidſt the preſent weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this nature, eſpecially ſince his Majeſty hath often found mutuall returns of long anſwers and replies, to have rather multiplied diſputes by ſtarting new queſtions, then informed the conſcience by removing former ſcruples.

1. *Reply.* §. 1, 2. *As to the Scriptures cited in the margin of His Majeſties firſt Paper.* It being granted by you, that thoſe Scriptures did prove the Apoſtles, and others being ſingle perſons to have exerciſed reſpectively the ſeverall points in the paper ſpecified, which powers (by your own confeſſions in this Reply §. 7.) a ſingle perſon, who is but a meer Presbyter, hath no right to exerciſe: and it being withall evident, that a Biſhop in the Eccleſiaſticall ſenſe, and as diſtinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more than to a peculiar right in the exerciſe of ſome, or all of the ſaid powers, which a meere Presbyter hath not; the concluſion ſeemeth natural and evident, that ſuch a power of Church-government as we uſually call Epiſcopall, is ſufficiently proved by thoſe Scriptures.

2. *Reply. Sect.*2.5. *As to the Bishops challenge.* First, when you speak of a Writ of Partition, you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had shared and canton'd out the Episcopall Office, one part to the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you fall upon the same again afterwards (*Sect.*6.) whereas his Majesties meaning was, and by his words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the office (*that of teaching, &c.*) was common to both alike; but the other part (*that of governing Churches*) to the Bishop alone.

2ly. You infer from his Majesties words, *That the Bishops challenge appears to be grown to more then was formerly pretended to. Which inference his Majesties words by you truly cited, if rightly understood, will not bear.* For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles and others, his Majesty said but this onely, *That the Bishops challenge no more or other power to belong unto them, in respect of their Episcopall Office, then what properly falleth under one of these three.* The words are true; for he that believeth the challenge not so much, might safely say they challenge no more. But the inference is not good; for he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power

er of Ordination, which is purely ſpirituall, his Majeſty conceiveth the Biſhops challenge to have been much-what the ſame in all times of the Church; and therefore it is that the matter of Ordination is moſt inſiſted on, as the moſt conſtant and moſt evident difference between Biſhops and Presbyters, eſpecially after the times of *Conſtantine*, which his Majeſty by your relating to *Chryſoſt.* and *Hierom* taketh to be the ſame you call the times of *Grown Epiſcopacy*. But his Maj. ſeeth no neceſſity, that the Biſhops challenge to the power of juriſdiction ſhould be at all times as large as the exerciſe thereof appeareth at ſome times to have been; the exerciſe thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times. And therefore his Majeſty doth not believe that the Biſhops under Chriſtian Princes doe challenge ſuch an amplitude of juriſdiction to belong unto them in reſpect of their Epiſcopall Office preciſely, as was exerciſed in the Primitive times by Biſhops before the dayes of *Conſtantine*. The reaſon of the difference being evident, that in thoſe former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a diſtinct Body of it ſelf, divided from the Common-wealth, and ſo was to be governed by its own rules and Rulers. The Biſhops therefore of thoſe times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens perſons

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or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man when he became a Member of the Church, did *ipso facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their government, they exercised a very large power of jurisdiction *in spiritualibus*, in making Ecclesiasticall Canons, receiving accusations, conventing the accused, examining of witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lords Supper, enjoyning penances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all this they exercised as well over Presbyters as others: but after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Common-wealth, whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the Civill and Ecclesiasticall powers, the jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto, and limitable by the Supreme Civill power, and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowledged by the Bishops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, as if nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the Apostles but their gift and enablements onely; whereas his Majesty in that Paper hath in expresse words named as extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning

ing to exclude thoſe not named, as their immediate calling, and if there be any other of like reaſon.

Fourthly, for the claim to a *jus divinum*, his Majeſty was willing to decline both the term (as being by reaſon of the different acception of it ſubject to miſ-conſtruction) and the diſpute whether by Chriſt or his Apoſtles: Nevertheleſs, although his Majeſty ſees no cauſe to diſlike their opinion, who derive the Epiſcopall power originally from Chriſt himſelf, without whoſe warrant the Apoſtles would not either have exerciſed it themſelves, or derived it to others; yet for that the practiſe in them is ſo clear and evident, and the warrant from him expreſs'd but in generall terms (*As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*, and the like) His Majeſty choſe rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practiſe, as the more evidentiall way, than upon the warrant, which by reaſon of the generality of expreſſion would bear more diſpute.

3. *Reply. Sect.6. As to the definition of Epiſcopacy.* Firſt, whereas you except againſt it, for that it is competent to Archiepiſcopall and Patriarchall Government as well as Epiſcopall; His Majeſty thinketh you might have excepted more juſtly againſt it if it had been otherwiſe.

Secondly, His Majesty believeth, that even in the persons by you named (*Timothy*, *Titus*, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found, *viz.* that they had each their several peculiar charges, and that within their severall precincts they had authority over Presbyters as well as others.

Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needfull that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should any where put all the parts of the definition together; it would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture put altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue is not in the name or work meerly, but the office; and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular office from a generall or common work: but judgeth withall it can be no fallacy to argue a particular office, from such a work as is peculiar to that office, and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof, and therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an office in that person distinct from the office of a Presbyter.

4. *Reply*, Sect. 7. *As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz. Tit.* 1. *Act.* 20. 2 *Pet.* 5. First, when you say you take his Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presters; If you take it so, truly you take it *gratis*, (His Majesty never gave it you:) and you mistake it too, more waies then one, for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Preterition in Order to the present businesse, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own expresse words are, 'Although his Majesty be not sure that the proof 'will reach so far in each of those places: which words plainly evidence, that which you call his Majesties Concession to be indeed no concession; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usuall in Disputations, *Dato, non concesso*. But in that Concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground those words, 'That in those times of the Church there was 'no distinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scripture.

pture. What his Majesty said is confessed on all sides (which are the words you take for a Concession) was but this, That supposing (but not granting) the word Bishop to be used in all those places to signifie a Presbyter, the Office and Work in those places mentioned as the Office and Work of a Bishop are (upon that supposall) the Office and Work of a Presbyter; which is so manifest a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can say the contrary. But how wide or short that is from what you make to be his Majesties Concession, your selves by comparing his words with yours may easily judge: But your selves a little after make a concession, which his Majesty (warned by your Example how soon anothers meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, *viz.* when you say, and you bring reasons also to prove it, That it seemeth manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter.

2. You repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from those places, and presse the same from the force of the words ποιμαίνειν and ἐπισκοπεῖν, and from the circumstances of the Text; and otherwise adding withall, that his Majesty hath waved the notice or answer of something by you alledged therein. Hereunto his Majesty

saith, that he waved not any thing in your former paper, for any great difficulty he conceived of answering it: but being desirous to contract his answer, and knowing to what frailties, Arguments drawn from Names and Words, and conjecturall Expositions of Scripture are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration in order to the end of the whole debate; to wit the satisfaction of his judgement and conscience in the main businesse. Otherwise his Majesty could have then told you, That there are, who by the like conjectures, grounded (as seems to them) on some *probabilities* in the *text*, interpret those places in the *Acts* and in S. *Peter* of Bishops properly so called, and in the restrained Ecclesiasticall sense, rather then of ordinary Presbyters; That supposing them both meant of ordinary Presbyters, the words ποιμαίνειν καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν (which signifie to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applied to them as inferiour Pastors, in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the Flock being in both the places expresly mentioned) which hindereth not, but the same words may in a more peculiar manner be appropriated to Bishops in respect of that authority and over-sight they have over Presbyters themselves also; That still granting your own interpretation of the word Bishop in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more

more then that the two names in that place are given to the same Function: That from all the premises in your paper there layed together, and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved, That the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the Offices were not in those places distinguished by those names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular Qualification, work or duty, unto a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question neer to an issue; his Majesty should well have hoped, that it might soon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the Epistles onely of Saint *Paul* to *Timothy*; wherein as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that *Timothy* might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those Offices: So in the directions given to *Timothy* throughout those Epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work, and duty of a Bishop, that *Timothy* might know how to behave himself in the exercise of his Episcopall Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the signification of the word *Episcopus*, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge:

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and that the same was after by Ecclesiasticall usage appropriated to Bishops you deny not: But the distinction of *Episcopus gregis, & Episcopus pastorum*, you do not allow. If you disallow it for the unfitnesse of the word, as may seem by that passage, where you say, 'That his Majesty 'hath said, that *Episcopus* signifieth a Keeper of 'Shepherds; His Majesty thinketh you might very well have spared that exception. For if there be a person that hath the oversight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving such a person the style of *Episcopus pastorum*, then there is in using the word ἀρχιποίμην, or in calling *Doeg* the Master of *Sauls* Herdmen. And for the thing it self, it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles, and *Timothy* and *Titus* (by what claim, ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the present businesse it matters not) had the oversight and authority over many Pastors, and were therefore truly and really *Episcopi pastorum*.

The appropriation of the names of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* to these distinct Offices, considering that it was done so early, & received so universally in the Church, as by the writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apostles, and other ancient evidences doth appear; His Majesty hath great reason to believe that it was done by consent of the primitive Bps meerly in ho-

honour of the Apostles, out of their respect and reverence to whose persons, and personall prerogatives, they chose to call themselves Bishops, rather then Apostles in common usage, although they made no scruple to maintain their succession from the Apostles, when they spake of things proper to the Episcopall Function, not to use upon occasion the terms of Apostle and Apostolicall in that sense, the truth of all which is to be seen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The testimonies of so many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-originall of Bishops, his Majesty conceiveth to be of so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity and reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation and reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety, of moderate and even passions, of *Orthodox* belief, sundry of them unintersted in the quarrell, and some of them of later times by interest and education byassed rather the other way; Their assertions positive, peremptory; and full of assurances (*constat & nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions) name-

namely, that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was founded upon a divine Law, That *Episcopacy* is διάταξις θεῦ, The Ordinance of God; That it seemeh good to the *Holy Ghost* so to order it, &c. Insomuch as they counted *Aerius* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their judgement they delivered as led thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture (θεῖος λόγος διδάσκει, Gods word teacheth it, *apertis Scripturæ testimoniis*, it appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture; *discimus ex hoc loco*, From this place we learn, and the like) which testimonies should they be encountred (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary, for number, and in every other respect equall thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much lessened thereby: inasmuch as one witnesse for the affirmative ought to be of more value then ten for the negative; and the testimony of one person that is not interessed, then of an hundred that are. *n*.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kind of trial, because matter of right is properly triable by Scripture; his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be yet in the true stating of it, and in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact and not of right; For what right soever the

the *Bishops* have or pretend to have, must be derived from the fact of *Christ* or his *Apostles*. Which matter of fact, if it be not in the most plain *historicall manner* that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topicall remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the most rationall and proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourse to the Judgement, but especially to the practise of the neareſt and subsequent times, according to the received Maximes, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & consuetudo optimus interpres Legum*. Now he that shall find by all the best *Records* extant, that the *distinction of Bishops* from and the *superiority over Presbyters* was so universally and speedily spread over the face of the *whole World*, and their *government* submitted unto so *unanimously* by the *Presbyters*, that there never was any *considerable opposition* made there-against before *Aerius* (and that cryed down as an *Heresie*) nor since till this last Age: and shall duly consider withall, that if *Episcopall government* had not had an *indubitable institution* from the *authority* of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, or if any *other form* of *Church-government* could have pretended to such *institution*, had been the most impossible thing in the world, when there neither was *any outward certain power to inforce it*, nor could be any *generall Councell to establish it*, to have introduced

duced such a *form of government* so suddenly and quietly, into all *Christian Churches*, and not the spirit of any one *Presbyter* for ought that appeareth for above 300 years, to have been provoked either through zeal, ambition, or other motive, to stand up in the just defence of their own and the Churches liberty against such *an usurpation*. His *Majesty* believeth that whosoever shall consider the *premises*, together with the Scripture-evidences that are brought for that *Government*, will see reason enough to conclude the same to have *something* of *divine institution* in it, notwithstanding all the evasions and objections that the subtil wit of man can devise to perswade the contrary. And therefore his Majesty thinketh it fit, plainly to tell you, that such Conjectural Interpretations of Scripture, as he hath yet met with in this Argument, how handsomely soever set off, are not Engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgement wherein he hath been setled from his Childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgement of Antiquity, and to the constant practise of the Christian Church for so many hundred years; which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more then meer conjecturall Inferences from Scripture-Texts that are not so attested. Which having now once told you, his Majesty thinketh himself discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an answer to every allega-

tion in the sequel of your Reply, as hitherto he hath done.

6. *Reply*, Sect. 9. As to the Apostles Mission and Succession. To make his answer the shorter to so long a discourse, His Majesty declareth, that his meaning was not by distinguishing the Mission and Unction of the Apostles, so to confine them, as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities, but that they did more especially and eminently so relate: For the Apostles after their last Mission, (*Mat.* 28. 19, 20.) whereby they were further warranted to their Office and Work, were yet to wait for that promised anointing (*Luke* 24. 49. *Act.* 1. 4.) the speciall effect whereof was the enduing them with Gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better and more effectuall performing of that their work and Office. Nor was it his Majesties meaning to restrain the extraordinaries in the Apostolicall Office to those gifts onely: (for his Majesty afterwards in the same paper mentioneth other extraordinaries also, as before is said) but onely to instance in those gifts, as one sort of extraordinaries, wherein the Apostles were to have no Successors. But his Majesties full meaning was, that the whole Apostolicall Office (setting aside all and onely what was personall and extraordinary in them) consisted in the work of teaching and governing, which being both of necessary and perpetuall use in the Church

Church to the worlds end, the Office thereof was alſo to continue; and conſequently the perſons of the Apoſtles being mortall, to be tranſmitted and derived to others in ſucceſſion: And that the Ordinary ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles immediately, and into the whole Office, both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Biſhops; the Presbyters ſucceeding them alſo, but in part, and into the Office of Teaching onely, and that mediately and ſubordinately to the Biſhops, by whom they are to be ordained, and authorized thereunto; which his Majeſty taketh not to be, as you call it, a diſſolving of the Apoſtolicall Office.

Now the ground of what his Majeſty hath ſaid concerning the manner of Succeſſion to the Apoſtles, that it may appear not to have been ſaid *gratis*, is this, The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, or by others at their appointment, are of three ſorts; ſome acts of power meerly extraordinary; others acts of an ordinary power, but of neceſſary and perpetuall uſe; otherſome laſtly, and thoſe not a few, Occaſionall and Prudentiall, fitted to the preſent condition of the Church in ſeverall times: To the Apoſtles in matters of the firſt ſort none pretends ſucceſſion, nor are either the Examples of what the Apoſtles themſelves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they ſhould do in matters of

the third sort, to be drawn into consequence so far as to be made necessary Rules, binding all succeeding Church-officers in all times to perpetuall observation. So that there remain the things of the middle sort onely, which we may call Substantials, into which the Apostles are to have ordinary and standing successors. But then the difference will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Substantialls and Prudentials may be known, and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do not afford any particular discriminating Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity be had to those two more generall Criterions [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Usage. Our own reason will tell us, that instructing the people of God in the Christian Faith, exhorting them to Piety, and good Works, administring the Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of teaching: That ordaining of Ministers, Inspection over their lives, and Doctrines, and other Administrations of Ecclesiasticall affaires belonging to the Office of Governing, are matters of great importance and necessary concernment to the Churches in all Ages and Times: and therefore were to be concredited to standing Officers in a line of

Suc-

Succession, and accordingly were judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the constant usage of the Churches of Christ: But that on the other side the decrees concerning Abstinence from blood, and strangled, *Acts* the 15. The directions given for the ordering some things in the Church-Assemblies, 1 *Cor.*14. For making provisions for the poor, 1 *Cor.*16.1. For the choice and maintenance of Widows, 1 *Tim.* 5. For the enoyling of the sick, *James* 5.14. and other like, were but occasional, prudential, and temporary, and were so esteemed by the Churches, and the practise of them accordingly laid aside. So for the succession into the Apostolical Office, we find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the power both of teaching and governing the Churches. And common Reason, and Prudence dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the Church, that there should be many Teachers within a competent precinct, but not so that there should be many Governours. And the difference of Bishops and Presbyters to the purposes aforesaid, having been by continual usage received, and preserved in the Christian Church, down from the Apostles to the present times; his Majesty conceiveth the succession of Bishops to the Apostles, into so much of their Office as was ordinary and perpetual; and such a distinction

of Bishops and Presbyters as his Majesty hath formerly expressed, needeth no further confirmation from Scripture (to such as are willing to make use of their Reason also, which in interpreting Scripture upon all other occasions they are enforced to do) nor any thing by you produced in this Paragraph, any further answer; onely that distinction of Eminently and Formally, because you illustrate it by instancing in Himself, his Majesty could not but take notice of, which he either understandeth not, or thinketh your illustration thereof not to be very apposite: For Actions and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and demonstrate the same as effects do their causes. The Apostles therefore acting in the ordinary exercise of Church-Government, did act not Eminently onely, but Formally also, as Bishops rather then Apostles.

As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. *Reply.* Sect. 10. 15. First, whether they were Evangelists or no, his Majesty never meant to dispute. Onely, because you often call for Scripture-proof, his Majesty thought fit to admonish you, that in your Answer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, and that Evangelists were such Officers as you described) Neither of which if it should be denied, you could clearly prove from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of other writers to attest it, as in your Reply you have

have now done Mr *Hookers*; Neither have you indeed brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to prove either of both sufficient to convince him that were of a contrary mind.

Secondly, you seem (Sect. 12.) to mistake that which was the third point in that part of his Majesties paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, or no; (concerning which his Majesty neither did, nor doth contend) But whether in the Church-government they exercised, they acted as Evangelists (as you affirm) and so onely as extraordinary Officers, or not? *Zuinglius* (having said that the name of a Bishop and Evangelist is the same thing) proveth it from 2 *Tim.* 4. and concludeth, *Constat idem fuisse officium utriusq*; Bishop and Evangelist the same Office both. *Gerrard* saith, the word Evangelist in that place is taken generally, and not in the speciall sense; that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospel at large (and the Context there indeed seemeth to import to more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office. And *Sculletus* not only affirmeth, That S. *Paul* appointed *Timothy* & *Titus* to *Ephesus* and *Crete*, not as Evangelists, but as Church-governours; but saith further, That the Epistles writen to them both do evince it, and also bringeth reasons to prove it. Upon what particular reasons *Gillespy*, &c. reject the conceit of their acting as Evangelists, his Maj. certainly knows not: But if this be one of their

Arguments (as to their best remembrance from whom his Majesty had the information, it is) That *if whatsoever is alledged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apostles, and by* Timothy *and* Titus, *in point of Ordination, Discipline and Government, may be eluded by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary Officers, There will be no proof at all from Scriptures of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officer to the purposes aforesaid.* His Majesty then recommendeth to your most sober thoughts to consider, First, how this conceit of their acting as extraordinary Ministers onely, tends to the subversion of all Ministers, as well as of the Bishops (since upon this very ground especially the *Socinians* deny all Mission and Ordination of the Ministers in the Church.) And secondly, if the contrary be proved by *Gillespy, &c.* by good Arguments, that they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claim of Bishops, (*viz.* of governing the Churches as single persons in ordinary Office) than either they or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majesty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendring the sense of his Reply, as you have done, *viz.* '*The Scriptures never call them Bishops, but the Fathers do:* whereas if you had followed his sense in that Paper, you might rather have delivered thus, The Scripture

describeth

deſcribeth them as Biſhops, and the Fathers call them ſo. For that of yours, '*The Scripture calls* '*Timothy an Evangeliſt; ſome of late have refuted* '*it, and rejected it with ſcorn:* You ſhould have ſaid rather, The Scripture doth not any where affirm of *Titus*, nor clearly prove of *Timothy*, that they were (by peculiar office) Evangeliſts; but that in governing the Churches they acted as Evangeliſts, or extraordinary Officers, is by ſundry late Writers (the Evaſion it ſelf having been but of late minted) refuted, and rejected. For that of yours, '*The Scripture relates* '*their motion from Church to Church, but ſome* '*affirm them to be fixed at Epheſus and in Crete:* It ſhould have been, Neither doth their motion from Church to Church hinder, but that they might afterwards be fixed at *Epheſus* and in *Crete*: Neither doth their being Biſhops at *Epheſus* and *Crete* hinder, but they might afterwards, for propagation of the Goſpel, be by the Apoſtles appointment often imployed other where. For that of yours, '*The Scripture makes* '*diſtinction of Evangeliſts and Paſtors, but ſome* '*ſay that Timothy and Titus were both:* It ſhould have been, The Scripture maketh no ſuch diſtinction of Evangeliſts and Paſtors, but that the ſame perſons might not onely ſucceſſively be both, but even at the ſame time alſo be called by both names.

4ly. Though you ſay, *You do not undervalue the Te-*

Testimonies & Catalogues mentioned, yet you endevor (which cometh not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much: Of those Testimonies, by putting them off, as if when they report *Timothy* & *Titus* & others to have bin Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in Debate. But of *Hierome*, upon whom you chiefly relye in this Cause, the contrary is evident, who in this Catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers, wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historicâ*, and to describe the persons of such as are Registred in that Catalogue by their proper and known distinctive Titles and Styles, he expresly styleth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Polycarp*, and others, Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other side as were but meer Presbyters, *Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ*, or *Alexandrinæ Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference so constantly and exactly throughout the whole Book, that nothing can be more clear, than that he understood the word *Episcopus* no otherwise than in the ordinary Ecclesiastical sense, and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you alledge out of him, by custom in the judgement of learned men, he must mean the practise of the Apostolick times; and by *Dominica dispositio*, the expres precept of Christ, unless you will have him contradict what himself hath written in sundry other places; Whose Testimonies in the behalf of Episcopal Su-

superiority, are so clear and frequent in his Writings, that (although he of all the Ancients be last suspected to favour that Function overmuch) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him *Arbitrator* in the whole Business. As for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long Discourse concerning the several stations and removes of *Timothy* & *Titus*, (13.14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Crete* (15.) His Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needful (in respect of what he hath said already) so to do. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences; as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Postea & tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the several Epistles written to them, sent by the Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Bishops of those Churches, or that the Government of those Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it be supposed withall (which is most reasonable) that their absence was commanded by

by the Apostle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you press again of 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. and *Tit.* 1. 5. weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your own judgements (for you say onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in his, as to need any further Answer; save onely, That his Majesty knows not what great need or use there should be of leaving *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Crete*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For either there were Colledges of Presbyters in those places before their coming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that such Colledges had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bishop; then was there little need of sending *Timothy* and *Titus* so solemnly thither about the work; if there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences his Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your principles.

That Discourse you conclude with this Observation, *That in the same very Epistle to* Timothy, *out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their Ruling:* m

Yet

Yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latine Fathers especially, and sundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word πρεσβυτερίε, to the remoter Substantive, Grace or Gift, and not to that of Imposition of hands; and so understand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or as we were wont to call it in English, by derivation from that Greek word of *Priesthood* in *Timothy* himself, and not of a Colledge or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: And that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do yet understand by πρεσβυτέριον there, a company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop (as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a Colledge of meer Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your Observation to be grounded, hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopal Government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the onely clear proof for the establishing of *Ruling Lay-Elders*; which Interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

As to the Angels of the Churches.

8 16, 17. *Reply.* HIs Majesties purpose of naming these Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently declared in his second, required no more to be granted for the proving of what he intended, but these two things onely: first, that they were *personæ singulares*; and then that they had a superiority in their respective Churches, as well over Presbyters as others: which two being the *Periphrasis* or definition of a Bishop, his Majesty conceived it would follow of it self, That they were Bishops; that the Epistles directed to them in the respective Reproofs, Precepts, Threatnings, and other the contents thereof, did concern their fellow-Presbyters also, and indeed the whole Churches (which in your last you again remember) his Majesty did then and doth still believe, finding it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epistles themselves, and to the consentient judgement of Interpreters. Onely his Majesty said, and still doth, That that hindreth not, but that the Angels to whom the Epistles were directed, were *personæ singulares* still: This his Majesty illustrated by a Similitude, which though it do not hold in some other respects, and namely those by you observed (for his Majesty never dreamt of a four-footed Similitude) yet it perfectly illustrates the thing it was then intended for, as is evident enough; so that there needeth no more to be said about it.

That

That which you inſiſt upon to prove the contrary from *Rev.*2.24. *But I ſay to you* (ὑμῖν plurally) *and to the reſt in Thyatira*, is plainly of no force, if thoſe Copies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting, be true; for then the reading would be this, *But I ſay to you the reſt in Thyatira*: But following the ordinary Copies, the difficulty is not great; ſuch manner of Apoſtraphes by changing the number, or turning the ſpeech to another perſon, being very uſual both in prophetick Writings, ſuch as this Book of *Revelation* is, and in Epiſtles of this nature written to one, but with reference to many others therein concerned. *Beza* expoundeth it, ὑμῖν, *to you* (that is, the Angel as Preſident, and his Collegues the other Presbyters) *and to the reſt*, that is, to the whole flock or people; which manner of ſpeaking might be illuſtrated by the like forms of ſpeech to be uſed in a Letter written to a Corporation, wherein the Major and Aldermen eſpecially, but yet the whole Town generally were concerned, but directed to the Major alone; or from a Lord, containing ſome Orders for his own houſhold eſpecially, and generally for the whole Townſhip, but by the Inſcription directed to his Steward onely, or the like.

The conſent of ancient and later Writers was produced by his Majeſty for the proof of the two things before named onely, but eſpecially of the firſt, *viz.* That the Angels were *perſonæ ſingulares*:

res: (For the latter, *viz.* That they were superiour to Presbyters also, had been confessed by your selves in your first grant before) but was not produced to prove the conclusion it self immediately, *viz.* That they were Bishops in distinct sense, although sundry of their Testimonies come up even to that also. But to the first point, That they were single persons, the concurrence is so general, that his Majesty remembreth not to have heard of any one single Interpreter, before *Brightman*, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet the same man (as his Majesty is informed) in his whole Commentary upon the *Revelation*, doth scarce, if at all, any where else, save in these Seven Epistles, expound the word *Angel* collectively, but still of one single person or other; insomuch as he maketh one Angel to be *Gregory* the Great, another Queen *Elizabeth*, another *Cranmer*, another *Chemnitius*, and the like: but generally both the Fathers and Protestant Divines agree in this, That the Angel was a single person, some affirming plainly, and that *in terminis*, he was the Bishop; some naming the very persons of some of them, as of *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and others, some calling him the chief Pastor or Superintendent of that Church; and those that speak least, and were more or less disaffected to Bishops, as *Beza*, Dr. *Reynolds*, the *Geneva Noto*, and even *Cartwright* himself, the πρωτοστάτα, President or chief among the Presbyters.

And

And this they do ſundry of them, not crudely delivering their opinions onely, and then no more, but they give reaſons for it, and after examination of the ſeverall opinions, prefer this before the reſt, affirming, That *Doctiſſimi quiqui interpretes*, all the beſt learned interpreters ſo underſtand it, and that they cannot underſtand it otherwiſe, *Vim niſi faccre Textui velint*, unleſſe they will offer violence to the Text.

That which his Majeſty ſaid concerning the Subdiviſion of thoſe that had divided themſelves from the common judgement of this Church, was meant by his Majeſty, as to the Subdiviſion in reſpect of this particular of the Angels wherein they differ one from another; and not as to the diviſion in reſpect of their diſlike of Biſhops, wherein they all agree: and truly his Majeſty doth not yet ſee how either their differences can be poſſibly reconciled in the former (no accommodation in the world being able to make all the people of the whole Church, nor yet a Colledge conſiſting of many Presbyters, to be one ſingle perſon) or their receſſe wholly excuſed in the latter, their diſſenting from the common and received judgement, practiſe of the Chriſtian Church, in the matter of Epiſcopacy, and the evil conſequents thereof, having in his Majeſties opinion, brought a greater reproch upon the Proteſtant Religion, and given more advantage (or

colour at least) to the Romish party, to asperse the Reformed Churches in such sort as we see they doe, then their disagreement from the Church of *Rome* in any one controverted point whatsoever besides hath done.

As to the Apostles Successors.

9. *Repl.* 17,18. HEre little is said, the substance whereof hath not been answered before; His Maj. therefore briefly declares his meaning herein, that the Apostles were to have no necessary Successors in any thing that was extraordinary, either in their Mission or Unction; that his Maj. spake not of succession into abilities otherwise than by instance, mentioning other particulars withall, which thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned; that in the Apostles Mission or Commission (for his Maj. under the name of Mission comprehendeth both) and consequently in the Apostolicall office, as there was something extraordinary, so there was something ordinary, wherein they were to have Successors; that Bishops are properly their Successors in the whole Apostolicall office, so far as it was ordinary, and to have Successors; that therefore the Bishops office may in regard of that succession be said to be Apostolicall; that yet it doth not follow that they must needs be called Apostles, taking the denomination from the office, in as much as the denomination of the Apostles, peculiarly so called, was not given them

them from the office whereunto they were ſent, but (as the word it ſelf rather importeth) from the immediateneſs of their miſſion, being ſent immediately by Chriſt himſelf; in reſpect whereof, for diſtinction ſake, and in honour to their perſons, it was thought fitter by thoſe that ſucceeded in common uſage, to abſtain from that denomination, and to be ſtyled rather by the name of Biſhops; that if the Apoſtles had no Succeſſors, the Presbyters (who are their Succeſſors in part, immediately and ſubordinately to the Biſhops) will be very hard ſet to prove the warrant of their own Office and Miſſion; which if not derived from the Apoſtles (who onely received power of miſſion from Chriſt) by a continued line of Succeſſion, his Majeſty ſeeth not upon what other bottom it can ſtand.

As to the ſtanding Officers of the Church.

19, 20. 10. *Rep.* YOu inſiſted upon two places of Scripture, *Phil.* 1. 1. & 1 *Tim.* 3. to prove that there were to be no more ſtanding Officers in the Church, then the two in thoſe places mentioned (*viz.*) Presbyters (who are there called Biſhops) and Deacons; whereunto his Majeſties anſwer was, *That there might be other, though not mentioned in thoſe places:* which anſwer, though it were alone ſufficient, yet *ex abundanti*, his Majeſty ſhewed withall, that ſuppoſing your interpretation of the word *Biſhop* in both the places (*viz.* to denote the office of Presbyters onely)

there might yet be given some probable conjectures, which (likewise supposed true) might satisfie us, why that of Bishop in the distinct sense should not be needfull or proper to be named in those places.

His Majesties former reason, though in *Hypothesi*, and as applied to the Church of *Philippi*, it be but conjecturall, yet upon the credit of all Ecclesiasticall Histories, and consideration of the condition of those times, as it is set forth in the Scriptures also, it will appear in *Thesi* to be undoubtedly true (*viz.*) That the Apostles themselves first planted Churches; that they were perpetuall Governours, and in chief of all the Churches whilest they lived; that as the burthen grew greater by the propagation of the Gospel, they assumed others in *partem curæ*, committing to their charge the peculiar oversight of the Churches in some principal Cities, and the Towns and Villages adjacent; as *James* at *Jerusalem*, and others in other places sooner or later, as they saw it expedient for the service of the Church; that the persons so by them appointed to such peculiar charges, did exercise the powers of Ordination and other government under the Apostles, and are therefore in the Church-stories called Bishops of those places in distinct sense; that in some places where the Apostles were themselves more frequently conversant, they did for some while govern the Churches immediately by them-

themſelves before they ſet Biſhops there; and that after the Apoſtles times Biſhops onely were the ordinary Governours of the Churches of Chriſt: And his Majeſty believeth it cannot be proved either from clear evidence of Scripture, or credible teſtimonies of Antiquity, that ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exerciſed the power either of Ordination at all without a B. or of that which they call Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in ordinary, & by their own ſole authority, or otherwiſe, then as it was delegated unto them upon occaſion, and for the time by Apoſtles and Biſhops.

For that place of *Phil.* 1.1. in particular, his Majeſties purpoſe being not to interpret the place (a work fitter for Divines) but to manifeſt the inconſequence of the Argument, whereby you would conclude but two ſtanding Officers onely, becauſe but two there named, gave this as one probable conjecture why there might be no Biſhops in diſtinct ſenſe there mentioned, becauſe poſſibly the Apoſtles had not as yet ſet any Biſhops over that Church, which his Majeſty did not propoſe as the onely, no, nor yet as the moſt probable conjecture (for which cauſe he delivered it ſo cautiouſly, ſaying onely, it might be probable) but as that which for the preſent came firſt into his thoughts, and was ſufficient for his purpoſe, without the leaſt meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations; as namely, of thoſe expoſitors who take the words (with the

Bishop and Deacons) as belonging to the persons saluting, and not to the persons saluted; to this sense *Paul* and *Timotheus* the servants of Jesus Christ, with the Bishops and Deacons to the Saints at *Philippi*, &c. or of those who affirm, and that with great probability too, that *Epaphroditus* was then actually Bishop of *Philippi*, but not to be mentioned in the Inscription of the Epistle, because he was not then at *Philippi*, but with S. *Paul* at *Rome* when that Epistle was written: any of which conjectures, if they be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable) that place of *Phil.* 1.1. will not do you much service in this question.

In the *Epistles* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apostle directeth and admonisheth them as Bishops, particularly concerning ordination of Ministers, that they do it advisedly, and ordain none but such as are meetly qualified for the service of the Church; which directions and admonitions his Majesty believeth for the substance to belong to all Bishops of after-times as well as unto them: But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those Epistles there should be any particular directions given concerning the ordination of Bishops, at least unless it could be made appear, that they were to ordain some such in those places; nor perhaps if that could be made to appear, in as much as in those Epistles there is not the least signification of any difference at all between

tween

tween Presbyters and Deacons in the manner of their ordination, both being to be performed by the Biſhop, and by impoſition of hands, and to both comprehended under that generall rule (*Lay hands ſuddenly on no man*) but onely, and that very little, and ſcarce conſiderable (as to the making of diſtinct offices) in the qualification of their perſons.

The ordination therefore of Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, being to be performed in the ſame manner, and the ſame qualifications after a ſort, ſaving ſuch differences as the importance of their ſeverall offices make (which is more in the degree than in the things) being required in both, it had been ſufficient if in thoſe Epiſtles there had been direction given concerning the ordination and qualification of but one ſort of Church-officers onely; as in the Epiſtle to *Titus*, we ſee there are of Presbyters onely, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epiſtle: whence it may be as well concluded, that there was to be no other ſtanding officers in the Church of *Crete* but Presbyters onely, becauſe S. *Paul* giveth no directions to *Titus* concerning any other, as it can be concluded, that there were to be no other officers in the Church of *Epheſus*, but Presbyters and Deacons onely, becauſe S. *Paul* giveth no directions to *Timothy* concerning any other.

As to the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

11. *Rep.* 23, 27. CConcerning the judgement of Ecclesiasticall Writers about the Divine right of Episcopacy, his Majesty conceiveth the difference to be more in their expressions than in their meaning, some calling it *Divine*, others *Apostolicall*, and some (but not many) *Ecclesiasticall*; but that the superiority of Bishops above Presbyters began in the Apostles times, and had its foundation in the institution either of Christ himself or of his *Apostles*, his Majesty hath not heard (*Aerius* excepted) that any till these later ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *Infallible*, his Majesty supposeth you knew his meaning, and he delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the *Catalogues*, some uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all humane Histories are subject to) his Majesty taketh to be insufficient to discredit all; differences there are in Historiographers, in reciting the succession of the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, and *Macedonian* Kings, and of the *Saxon* Kings in *England*: And we find far more inextricable intricacies in the *Fasti Consulares*, the Catalogues of the Roman Consuls (notwithstanding their great care in keeping the publick Records, and the exactnesse of the Roman Histories) than are to be found in Episcopall Catalogues, those especially of the chiefest Cities, as *Jerusalem*,

ruſalem, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Epheſus, &c. yet as all men believe there were Kings in thoſe Countreys, and Conſuls in *Rome* in thoſe times, ſo (as you might well foreſee would be anſwered) the diſcrediting of the Catalogues of Biſhops, in reſpect of ſome uncertainties (although his Majeſty doubteth not but many of the differences you inſtance in may be fairly reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing it ſelf.

That which you ſay in anſwer hereunto, that the Eccleſiaſticall Writers called them Biſhops, in compliance to the language of their own times, after the names of Presbyters and Biſhops were diſtinguiſhed, but that they were not indeed Biſhops in the proper ſenſe now in queſtion: his Majeſty, who believeth the diſtinction of thoſe names to have begun preſently after the Apoſtles time (if not rather whileſt ſome of them were living) doth conſequently believe, that as they were called, ſo they were indeed Biſhops in that proper ſenſe. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epiſtles every where, how wide the difference was in his time between a a Biſhop and a meer Presbyter: if *Hierome* onely, and ſome a little ancienter than he had applied the name Biſhop to perſons that lived ſome ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to ſuch a compliance as you ſpeak of; but that they received both

both the name and the truth of their relations from unquestionable Testimonies and Records, his Majesty thinketh it may be made good by many instances: For example, to instance in one onely, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the Angel of that Church in the *Revelation*; *Ignatius*, who was contemporary with him, wrote one Epistle to him, and sends salutation to him in another as Bishop of *Smyrna*; many years after *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France* (whose writings were never yet called in question by any) not onely affirmes him to have beeen constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles, but saith, *That he himself when he was a Boy had seen him a very old Man*; *Tertullian* next, a very ancient Writer, affirmeth, *That he was Bishop of Smyrna, there placed by Saint John.* After cometh *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiasticall History, not onely historically reporteth of his being Bishop there, as he doth of other Bishops; but citeth also for it the testimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenæus* (which by the way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles too:) then *Hierom* also and others, lastly, attest the same. And it cannot be doubted, but *Eusebius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like certain testimonies and grounds for sundry others, whom they report to have been Bishops; which Testimonies and Records are not all come to our hands.

For

For the Teſtimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, His Majeſty ſaith; Firſt, That though it be not reaſonable that the Teſtimony of one ſingle Epiſtle ſhould be ſo made the adequate meaſure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to exclude all other proofs from his Example, or otherwiſe; yet his Majeſty, ſince *Clemens* was firſt named by you, and the weight of the main Cauſe lieth not much upon it, is content alſo for that matter to refer himſelf to that Epiſtle. Secondly, That his Majeſty could not but uſe ſome earneſtneſſe of expreſſion in the cauſe of *Ignatius* againſt ſome who have rejected the whole Volume of his Epiſtles, but upon ſuch Arguments as have more leſſened the reputation of their own Learning, then the Authority of thoſe Epiſtles, in the opinion of moderate and judicious men: And yet *Blendellus*, a very learned man, though he rejected thoſe Epiſtles, confeſſeth notwithſtanding the Ancient Fathers gave full credence thereunto.

The Apoſtles, you ſay, *did not ordain themſelves Biſhops of any particular places; and yet the Biſhops of ſome particular places are reported in the Catalogues to have been Succeſſours to ſuch or ſuch of the Apoſtles and even the Names of ſuch Apoſtles are entred into the Catalogues:* To this his Majeſty ſaith, That the Apoſtles were formerly Biſhops by vertue of their Miſſion from Chriſt, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordain themſelves, nor could be ordained by others, Biſhops of ſuch or

ſuch

such particular Cities: Although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to their Apostleship, and by mutual consent, make choice of their several quarters wherein to exercise that Function, as well as Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* by consent went, the one to the Circumcision, the other to the Gentiles: But such apportionments did not entitle them to be properly called Bishops of those places, unless any of them by such Argument did fixedly reside in some City; of which there is not in the History of the Church any clear unquestionable example: If *James* the Lords Brother (who was certainly Bishop of *Jerusalem*) were not one of the Twelve Apostles, as the more general opinion is that he was not; yet did the Churches of succeeding times, for the greater honour of their *sees*, and the memory of so great Benefactors, enter the head of the Lists or Catalogues of their Bishops, the Names of such of the Apostles as had either first planted the Faith, or placed Bishops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their daies among them: yet doth not the true Title of being Successors to the Apostles thereby accrew to the Bishops of those places, more then to other Bishops, but all Bishops are equally Successors to the Apostles in two other respects; The one, for that they derive their Ordination by a continual Line of Succession from the Apostles: The other, for that they suc-

ſucceed into the ſame Apoſtolical power & Function, which the Apoſtles as ordinary Paſtors had.

Your motion to reduce this whole diſpute to Scripture alone, were the more reaſonable, if the matter in queſtion were properly a point of Faith: And yet even in points of Faith (as the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Canon of Scripture, and ſundry other) the uniform judgement of the Church hath been ever held of very conſiderable regard: but being a matter of Fact, as before was ſaid, which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perſpicuouſly in any one place together, but obſcurely, and by parts; ſo that the underſtanding thereof dependeth meerly upon conjectural Interpretations & uncertain probabilities, nor aſſure any certain diſtinguiſhing Characters, whereby to diſcern what therein is extraordinary, what prudential, & what of neceſſary & perpetual Obligation, there ſeemeth to his Maj. to be a neceſſity of admitting the ſubſequent judgement & practiſe of the Chriſtian Churches into the Trial.

As to the three Queſtions propoſed by his Majeſty.

12. 29. &c. *Reply,* HIs Majeſty reſteth very much unſatisfied, That you have now again wholly declined the anſwering of thoſe three Queſtions ſo clearly propoſed by him, which your ſelves alſo confeſſe to be of great importance, upon this only pretence, *That the whole volume of Eccleſiaſtical Policy is contained in them*: Whereas his Maj. did neither expect nor require

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from

from you any large or Polemical Discourse concerning those Questions; but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared in few words what your judgement was therein, with the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, then which nothing could have more conduced to the informing of his judgement, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the tenth part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, and therein have given full as much satisfaction to his desires, as he expected, and in all likelihood better satisfaction to his judgement then he yet findeth, or can hope to find from you, so long as you hold off from declaring your opinions concerning those
m. Questions: For certainly, until one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his Majesty, (*viz.*) Either that there is no certain form of Church-Government at all prescribed in the Word, or if there be, that the Civil power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopal but some other, his Majesty thinks himself excusable in the judgement of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to give his consent to the utter abolition of that Government in the Church, which he found here setled to his hands, which hath

hath continued all over the Chriſtian World, from the times of the Apoſtles, until this laſt Age, and in this Realm ever ſince the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity, as well ſince the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by ſo many Acts of Parliament, approved as conſonant to the holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Miniſters of the Church of *England*, as well by their perſonal ſubſcriptions, as otherwiſe, ſo atteſted and declared, and which himſelf in his judgement and conſcience, hath for theſe many years been, and yet is perſwaded to be at leaſt of Apoſtolical Inſtitution and practiſe: Truly, his Majeſty cannot but wonder what ſhould be the reaſon of your great ſhineſſe and unwillingneſſe to diſcover your minds in a matter of ſo great and neceſſary conſequence: and for a final concluſion of this whole diſpute (which his Majeſty thinketh fit to ſhut up with this paper) he muſt plainly tell you, That your endeavours to have given him ſatisfaction in the Queſtions propoſed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you ſhould work much upon his judgement, whileſt you are fearful to declare your own, nor poſſible to relieve his Conſcience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheleſſe, his Majeſty liketh well of your prayer in the cloſe of your paper, and thinketh you

you should do very well to joyn therewith your utmost possible endeavours towards the setling of Truth, and an happy peace in this unsetled Church and Kingdom.

His MAJESTIES *Quære concerning* Easter, *propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at* Holmby, *April* 23. 1647.

I desire to be resolved of this Question, Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of *Easter*.

The Reason for this Quære *is:*

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Jewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday, for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one and instituted the other: Therefore My opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday. When any body can shew Me, That herein I am in an errour, I shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it; till when you know my mind.

C. Rex.

His

His MAJEIES *Letter to the* PRINCE, Newport *Novemb.* 29. 1648.

Son,

BY what hath been said, you may see how long We have laboured in the search of Peace. Doe not you be discourag'd to tread those wayes, in all worthy means to restore your self to your right; but prefer the way of Peace: shew the greatnesse of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not, for having parted with too much of Our own right: the price was great, the commodity was security to Us, Peace to Our People. And We are confident another Parliament would remember how usefull a Kings power is to a Peoples liberty. Of how much We have divested Our self, that We and They might meet again in a due Parlimentary way, to agree the bounds for Prince and People. And in this give belief to Our experience, never to affect more greatnesse or Prerogative, than what is really and intrinsecally for the good of your Subjects, (not satisfaction of favourites.) And if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a bountiful Prince to any you would be extraordinarily gracious unto. You may perceive all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest: And if Princes, like the Sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with; they will not grudge, but pride themselves, to make them up an Ocean. These considerations may

make you a great Prince, as your Father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For Subjects have learnt (We dare say) that Victories over their Princes are but triumphs over themselves, and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The English Nation are a sober people, however at present under some infatuation. We know not but this may be the last time We may speak to you or the world publickly; We are sensible into what hand We are faln, and yet we blesse God We have those inward refreshments, that the malice of Our Enemies cannot perturb. We have learnt to own Our self, by retiting into Our self, and therefore can the better digest what befalls Us, not doubting but God can restrain our Enemies malice, and turn their fierceness unto his praise. To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly and far from revenge: If he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. Those men which have forced Lawes which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this World worth obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the Son of Our love: and as We direct you to what we have recommended to you, so we assure you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom We are a natural Parent) then We do, that the ancient glory & renown of this Nation, be not buried in irreligion and fanatick humour: And that all our Subjects (to whom we are a Politick Parent) may have such sober thoughts as to seek their Peace, in the Orthodox Profession of the Christian Religion, as it was established since the Reformation in this Kingdome, and not in new Revelations: And that the ancient Lawes, with the interpretation according to the known practises,

may

may once again be an hedge about them, that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

THe Commissioners are gone, the Corn is now in the Ground, We expect the Harvest, if the Fruit be Peace. We hope the God of Peace will in time reduce all to truth and order again. Which that he may do, is the prayer of

C. R.

PRAYERS

Used by His Majesty in the time of His SUFFERINGS.

Delivered to Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of LONDON, immediately before His Death.

Also a Letter from the PRINCE.

A PRAYER in time of Captivity.

O Powerfull and Eternall GOD! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist, or so small, that it is contemned; look upon my Misery with thine eye of Mercy, and let thy infinite Power vouchsafe to limit out

out some proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient; let not injury, O LORD, triumph over me, & let my faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not my unjust enemies the Ministers of thy Justice: But yet, my God, if in Thy wisdome this be the apteſt chastisement for my unexcusable transgressions; If this ungratefull bondage be fittest for my over-high desires, if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord I yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus much let me crave of Thee (Let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from thee) that by thy goodness, which is thy self, Thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majesty so to shine in My mind, that I, who acknowledge it my noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still in my greatest Afflictions depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of my Vertue: O let not their prevailing power be to my destruction. And if it be thy will, that they more and more vex me with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind and stedfast resolution ever to serve thee, without fear or presumption, yet with that humble confidence which may best please thee: so that at the last I may come to thy eternall Kingdome, through the merits of thy Son, our alone Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

Additionall

Additionall Prayers used by His MAJESTY in the time of his Sufferings and Restraint.

I.

A Prayer used by His Majesty, at his entrance in State into the Cathedrall Church of Exeter, *after he had defeated the Earl of* Essex *his Forces in* Cornwal.



MOst glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and holy Ghost, I here humbly adore Thy most Sacred Majesty; and I blesse and magnifie thy Name, for that thou hast been pleased so often and so strangely to deliver me from the strivings of My people. Father, forgive them who have thus risen up against Me, and doe Thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to Me, that I being firmly established in the Throne Thou hast placed Me in, I may defend Thy Church committed to My care, and keep all this Thine and My people in Truth and Peace through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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2.

A Prayer drawn by His Majesties special direction & dictates, for a blessing on the Treaty at Uxbridge.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech Thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty, begun for the establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood for whom Christ himself hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our great sins cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under the pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace itself, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

3.

A Prayer drawn by his Majesties speciall directions for a blessing on the Treaty at New-port *in the* Isle of Wight.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the

the scourge of an unnatural War, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty brought about by thy providence, and the onely visible remedy left for the establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace it self, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

4.

A Prayer for pardon of sin, &c.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My Self at the Foot-stool of thy Throne of Grace; But look upon me, O Father, through the Meditation, and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternall God! For as in sin I was

conceived and born, ſo likewiſe I have broken all thy Commandements by My ſinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which Thou haſt forbidden under pain of thy heavy diſpleaſure. As for My ſins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I ſtand here liable to all the miſeries in this life, and everlaſting torments in that to come, if thou ſhouldeſt deal with Me according to My deſerts. I confeſſe, O Lord, that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compaſſion (which never fails) which is the cauſe that I have not been long ago conſumed: But with Thee there is mercy and plenteous redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I intreat Thy Divine Majeſty, that Thou wouldſt not enter into judgement with Thy Servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amiſſe, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and waſh away all My ſins with that precious blood that My Saviour ſhed for Me. And I beſeech Thee, O Lord, not onely to waſh away all My ſins, but alſo to purge My heart by Thy holy Spirit, from the droſſe of My naturall corruption. And as thou doeſt add daies to My life, ſo good Lord, I beſeech Thee to add repentance to My daies, that when I have paſt this mortall life, I may be partaker of Thy everlaſting Kingdom, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodnesse that admits of our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee: and of all men living I have most need, most reason so to do, no man having been so much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledg which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies, for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou mayest clear the way for Thine own Mercies; to which, O let

Thy justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time give me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and people which Thou hast committed to My charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onely Saviour, Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all those who with humble and unfained repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruell enemies. But if thy wrath against My heinous offences, will not other waies be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy will be done; yet, with humble importunity I do, and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My

cause,

cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Mind, that with cleerness I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Triall; that so My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

Upon the picture of his Majesty, sitting in his Chair before the High Court of Injustice.

NOt so Majestick in thy Chair of State!
On that but Men, here God & Angels wait:
Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear
Of Death can move thee from thy Kingly sphear
Constant & fixt, whom no black storms can soyl,
Thy Colours, Head, and Soul, are all in oyl.

THE TRYALL OF CHARLES the I. KING of ENGLAND, In the Great Hall at *Westm.* Jan. 20. 1648.

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KING of ENGLAND,

In the Great Hall at Weſtm.

Jan. 20. 164⅘.

Three Queries propounded by his Majesty, *when the Army's Remonstrance was read unto him at* Newport, *concerning the intended triall of His* Majesty.

1. WHether this Remonstrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army: and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after he had consented to what they desired, he should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedome, and Safety.

2. Whether his acknowledgement of the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars (nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding) could be urged so far as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his Party.

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a free and personall Treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and avoid the exactnesse of any of the Conditions, though in manner and form onely, might be charged against him as an act of Obstinacy, or wilfull persistance in what is alledged against him, in that he goes on in a destructive course of enmity against the people and the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his conscience was satisfied concerning divers particulars in the Propositions.

4. Whe-

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons charged to offend againſt the law, ought to be tried by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the perſon queſtioned is without a Peer; and if the Law (which of it ſelf is but a dead Letter) ſeems to condemn him, by what power ſhall judgement be given, and who ſhall give it? or from whence ſhall the adminiſtrators of ſuch judgement derive their power, which may (by the ſame Law) be deemed the ſupreme power or authority of Magiſtracy in the Kingdom?

His Majeſties Reaſons againſt the pretended Juriſdiction of the High Court of Juſtice, which He intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, Jan. 22. 1648. *but was not permitted.*

HAving already made My proteſtations not onely againſt the illegality of this pretended Court, but alſo that no Earthly power can juſtly call Me (who am your KING) in queſtion as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occaſion, more than to refer My ſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I in this caſe alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preſervation of the true liberty of My people, will not ſuffer Me at this time to be ſilent. For, how can any free-born Subject of *Engl.* call Life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own; if Pow-

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without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land: which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest Man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, this daies proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law; for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccl.* 8. 4. Then for the Law of this Land, I am no lesse confident that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an im-

* *Hereabout I was stopt, & not suffered to speak any more concerning Reasons.*

impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamentall Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Lawes of *England.*

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *England* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man in the Kingdome, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *Engl.* of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your KING, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects,

which

which consists not in the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceedings doe not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of; with which I am far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, & hopefully expecting the Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome together with my own just right. Then, for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting; so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulnesse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule or Law, changing the whole

whole frame of that Government, under which this Kingdome hath flourished for many hundred years (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawless unjust proceeding against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the reign of Qu. *Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly I will answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to speak in* Westminster-Hall *on Monday*, 22 Januar. *but against Reason was hindred.*

The

The Names of those persons, who presumed at severall times actually to sit as Judges upon their Soveraign Lord, whereof about 73 did passe sentence of Death upon him, with the Names of the Councel and Officers that attended them.

Serjeant *John Bradshaw*, President.
L. Gen *Oliver Cromwel*,
Com. General *Ireton*,
Major General *Skippon*,
Sir *Hardresse Waller*,
Col. *Thomas Harrison*,
Col. *Edward Whalley*,
Col. *Thomas Pride*,
Col. *Isaac Ewer*,
Col. *Richard Ingoldsby*,
Sir *Henry Mildmay*,
Thomas Lord *Grey*,
Philip Lord *Lisle*,
William Lord *Munson*,
Sir *John Danvers*,
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*,
Sir *John Bowcher*,
Sir *James Harrington*,
Sir *William Brereton*,
William Henningham Esq;
Isaac Pennington Alderm.
Thomas Atkins Ald.
Rouland Wilson Ald.
Sir *Peter Wentworth*,
Col. *Henry Martin*,
Col. *William Purefoy*,
Col. *Godfrey Bosvil*,
Col. *John Berkstead*.
Sir *William Constable*,
Col. *Edward Ludlow*,
Col. *John Hutchinson*,
Col. *Robert Titchburn*,
Col. *Owen Roe*,
Col. *Adrian Scroope*,
Col. *John Okey*,
Col. *John Harrison*,
Col. *John Desborough*,
Cornelius Holland Esq;
Miles Corbet Esq;
Francis Allen Esq;
Peregrine Pelham Esq;
John Gourdon Esq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorp*,
Thomas Challoner Esq;
Col. *John Moor*,
John Alured, Esq;
Col. *Francis Taffells*,
Henry Smith Esq;
James Chaloner Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphrey Edwards Esq;
Gregory Clement Esq;
John Fry Esq;

Thomas Wogan Esq;
Sir *Gregory Norton*,
Col. *Edmond Harvey*,
Iohn Dove Esq;
Col. *Iohn Venne*,
Iohn Foulkes Alderman,
Thomas Scot Alderman,
Tho. Andrews Alderman,
William Cawley Esq;
Anthony Stapely,
Iohn Liſle Esq;
Iohn Corbet Esq;
Thomas Blunt Esq;
Thomas Boone Esq;
Col. *George Fleetwood*,
Col. *Iames Temple*,
Col. *Thomas Waite*,
Iohn Brownne Esq;
William Say Esq;
Col. *Matthew Tomlinſon*,
Iohn Blackeſton,
Gilbert Millington,
Abraham Barrel,
Col. *Iohn Downes*,
Mr. *Norton*,
L. Gen. *Tho. Hammond*,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Auguſtin Garland,
Sir *Miles Liveſey*,
Iohn Dexwel,
Simon Mayre,
Daniel Blagrave,
Col. *Robert Lilburne*,
Col. *Richard Deane*,
Col. *Hewſon*,
L. Col. *William Goffe*,
Mr. *Carew*,
Io. Ioanes.
92 In all.

Councellours aſſiſtant to draw up the Charge againſt the KING,
Dr. *Iſaac Doriſlaus*, Mr. *Aske*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Steele*, (who by reaſon of ſickneſſe was abſent.)
Serjeant *Dandy*, Serjeant at Arms, M. *Phelps*. Clerk.
Meſſengers and Door-keepers,
Mr. *Walford*, Mr. *Radly*, Mr. *Paine*, Mr. *Howel*, Mr. *Hull*.
And Mr. *King* Cryer.

The

The manner of the Tryall of CHARLES STUART *King of* England, *in the great Hall in* Westminster, *January* 20. 1648.

ON Saturday, being the twentieth day of *January* 1648. The Lord *Bradshaw*, President of the High Court of Justice, with neer fourscore of the Members of the said Court, having sixteen Gentlemen with Partizans, and a Sword, and a Mace, with their, and other officers of the said Court marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their sitting, at the West end of the great Hall in *Westminster*; where the Lord President in a Crimson Velvet Chair, fixed in the midst of the Court, placed himself, having a Desk with a Crimson Velvet Cushion before him; The rest of the Members placing themselves on each side of him upon the severall Seats, or Benches, prepared and hung with Scarlet for that purpose; and the Partizans dividing themselves on each side of the Court before them.

The Court being thus set, and silence made, the great Gate of the said Hall was set open, to the end, That all persons, without exception, desirous to see, or hear, might come into it; upon which the Hall was presently filled, and silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel *Tomlinson*, who had the

charge of the Prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who within a quarter of an hours space brought him attended with about twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being other Gentlemen, to whose care and custody he was likewise committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, The Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him streight to the Bar, having a Crimson Velvet Chair set before him. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the Galleries on each side of him, he places himself, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court; but presently rises up again, and turnes about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. After silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament, for the Trying of CHARLES STUART King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who sate on one side of the Table covered with a rich Turky Carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President, upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the said Act, the severall names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present, being eighty, as aforesaid, rising up, and answering to his Call.

Having

Having again placed himself in his Chair, with his face towards the Court, Silence being again ordered, the Lord President stood up, and said:

Lord President. CHARLES STUART, King of *England*; The Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation (wch is fixed upon you as the principal Author of it) have resolved to make inquisition for Blood; & according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdom, and themselves, and according to the Fundamentall Power that rests in themselves, They have resolved to bring you to Tryal and Judgement; and for that purpose have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are brought.

This said, M. *Cook*, Attorney for the Common-wealth (standing within a Bar on the right hand of the Prisoner) offered to speak: but the King having a staffe in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the said M. *Cooks* shoulders two or three times, bidding him hold; Nevertheless, the Lord President ordering him to go on, he said:

M. *Cook*. My Lord, I am commanded to charge *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, in the name of the Commons of *England*, with Treason and high Misdemeanors; I desire the said Charge may be read.

The said Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President ordered it should

be read; but the King bid him hold: Nevertheless, being commanded by the Lord President to read it, the Clerk begun.

The Charge of the Commons of *England* against CHARLES STUART King of *England*, of High Treason, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice.

THat *the said* Charles Stuart *being admitted King of* Engl. *and therein trusted with a* limited Power, *to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise; And by his Trust, Oath, and office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him,* For the good and benefit of the People, *and for the preservation of their Rights & Liberties; Yet nevertheless out of a* wicked design, *to erect, and uphold in himself an unlimited & Tyrannical Power to rule* according to his Will, *and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; yea, to take away, and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redresse & remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamentall Constitutions of this Kingdom, were reserved on the peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments, or National meetings in Councel; He, the said* Charles Stuart, *for accomplishment of such his* Designs, *and for the protecting of himself and his adherents, in His, and Their* wicked practises *to the same Ends, hath Trayterously*

rously and maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein Represented.

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, *in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred fourty and two at* Beverley *in the County of* York; *& upon or about the thirtieth day of* July *in the year aforesaid, in the County of the city of* York; *and upon, or about the twenty fourth day of* August, *in the same year, at the County of the Town of* Notingham (*when and where he set up* His Standard of War;) *And upon, or about the twenty third day of* October *in the same year, at* Edg-Hill, *and* Keinton-field, *in the County of* Warwick; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the same year, at* Brainford, *in the County of* Middlesex; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* August, *in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred fourty and three, at* Cavesham bridge, *neer* Reading, *in the County of* Berks; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* October, *in the year last mentioned, at, or neer the City of* Gloceſter; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the year last mentioned, at* Newbery, *in the County of* Berks; *And upon, or about the one and thirtieth day of* July, *in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and four, at* Cropredy-Bridge, *in the County of* Oxon; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* September, *in the year last mentioned, at* Bodmin, *and other places neer adjacent, in the County of* Cornwall; *And upon, or about*

the thirtieth day of November, *in the year last mentioned, at* Newbery *aforesaid; And upon or about the eight day of* June, *in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and five, at the Town of* Leicester; *and also upon the fourteenth day of the same moneth, in the same year, at* Naseby-field, *in the County of* Northampton: *At which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this Land, at several other times, within the years afore mentioned, and in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred fourty and six, He the said* Charles Stuart *hath caused and procured many thousands of the Free-People of the Nation to be slain; and by* Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections *within this Land, by Invasions from Forreign parts, endeavoured and procured by Him, and by* many other evil waies and means, *He the said* Charles Stuart *hath not onely* maintained and carried on *the said War*, both by Land and Sea, *during the years before mentioned; but also* hath renewed, or caus'd to be renewed, the said War *against the Parliament, and good People of this* Nation, *in this present year One thousand six hundred fourty and eight, in the Counties of* Kent, Essex, Surry, Sussex, Middlesex, *and many other Counties and places in* England *and* Wales, *and also by* Sea: *And particularly, He the said* Charles Stuart *hath for that purpose* given Commission to his Son *the rince, and others*; *whereby*, besides multitudes of other Persons, *many such as were by the* Parliament intrusted and imployed *for the safety*

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of the Nation, *being by Him or His Agents corrupted to the betraying of* Their truſt, *and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commiſſion for the continuing and renewing of War and Hoſtility againſt the ſaid* Parliament and People, *as aforeſaid. By which* cruel and unnatural *Wars by Him the ſaid* Charles Stuart *levied, continued, & renewed, as aforeſaid, much* Innocent Blood of the Free-people *of this* Nation *hath been ſpilt, many* Families *have been* undone, *the* Publick Treaſury waſted and exhauſted, Trade obſtructed, and miſerably decayed, vaſt expence and damage to the Nation incurred, *and many* parts *of the* Land ſpoiled, *ſome of them even to* Deſolation.

And for further proſecution of his ſaid evil Deſigns, *He the ſaid* Charles Stuart *doth ſtill continue his Commiſſions to the ſaid Prince, and other* Rebels *and* Revolters, *both Engliſh and* Forraigners, *and to the Earle of* Ormond, *and to the* Iriſh Rebels and Revolters *aſſociated with him; from whom further* Invaſions *upon this Land are threatened, upon the procurement, and on the behalfe of the ſaid* Charles Stuart.

All which wicked Deſigns, Wars, *and evil practiſes of Him the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *have been, & are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the Perſonal Intereſt of* Will and Power, *and pretended* Prerogative *to Himſelf and his family, againſt the publick intereſt, Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice, and Peace* of the people of this Nation,

by

by, and for whom he was entrusted, as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth, that he the said Charls Stuart, *hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author and Contriver of the said unnaturall, cruell, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoiles, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby.*

And the said John Cook, *by Protestation (saving on the behalf of the People of* England, *the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Charge against the said* Charles Stuart; *and also of replying to the answers which the said* Charls Stuart *shall make to the premises, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said* Treasons *and* Crimes, *on the behalf of the said People of* England, *impeach the* Charls Stuart *as a* Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, *and a* publick *and* implacable Enemy *to the Common-wealth of* England: *And pray, that the said* Charls Stuart, *King of* England,, *may be put to answer* All *and* Every *the* Premises, *that such* Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence *and* Judgement *may be hereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.*

IT is observed, that the time the Charge was reading, the King sate down in his Chair, looking sometimes on the Court, sometimes up to the Galleries; and having risen again, and turned about

about to behold the Guards and Spectators, sate down, looking very sternly with a countenance not at all moved, til these words, *viz.* (*Charls Stuart* to be a *Tyrant* & *Traitor*, *&c.*) were read, at which he laughed as he sate in the face of the Court.

The Charge being read, the L. Presid. replyed:

Lord President. Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing such matters as appear in it; you find, that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the *Commons* of *England*, that you answer to your charge. The Court expects your answer.

The King. I would know by what power I am called hither: I was, not long ago, in the *Isle* of *Wight*; how I came there is a longer story than I think is fit at this time for me to speak of; but there I entred into a *Treaty* with both Houses of *Parliament* with as much publick faith as it's possible to be had of any people in the world. I treated there with a number of honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me, we were upon a conclusion of the *Treaty*. Now I would know by what Authority, I mean lawfull; there are many unlawfull Authorities in the world, Theeves and Robbers by the highwayes: but I would know by what Authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (& I know not what) & when I know by what lawful authority, I shall answer. Remember

am your King, and what sins you bring upon your heads, and the judgement of God upon this Land, think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater; therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer: in the mean time I shall not betray my Trust; I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawfull descent, I will not betray it to answer to a new unlawfull Authority; therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.

Lord Presid. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the *Court* at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you, in the name of the *people of England*, of which you are elected King, to answer them.

The King. No Sir, I deny that.

Lord Presid. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the *Court*, they must proceed.

The King. I do tell them so, *England* was never an Elective Kingdome, but an Hereditary Kingdome for neer these thousand years; therefore let me know by what authority I am called hither. I do stand more for the *Libertie* of my People, than any here that come to be my pretended Judges: and therefore let me know by what *lawfull authority* I am seated here, and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it.

L. Presid. Sir, how really you have managed your Trust, is known: your way of answer is to interrogate the *Court*, which beseems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

The King. Here is a Gentleman, Lieut. Col. *Cobbet*, (ask him) if he did not bring me from the *Isle of Wight* by force; I do not come here as submitting to the *Court*: I will stand as much for the priviledge of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the *Treaty* in the publick Faith of the world? Let me see a legall Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdome, and I will answer.

L. Presid. Sir, You have propounded a Question, and have been answered; seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed: in the mean time, those that brought you hither are to take charge of you back again.

The Court desires to know whether this be all the Answer you will give, or no.

The King. Sir, I desired that you would give me and all the world satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about. I

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I am ſworn to keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Countrey, and I will do it to the laſt breath of my body; and therefore you ſhall do well to ſatisfie, firſt God, and then the Countrey, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by an uſurped Authority, that will not laſt long. There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you power, to account: ſatisfie me in that, and I will anſwer, otherwiſe I betray my Truſt and the Liberties of the People; and therefore think of that, and then I ſhall be willing: For I do avow, that it is as great a ſin to withſtand lawfull Authority, as it is to ſubmit to a Tyrannicall, or any other wayes unlawfull Authority; and therefore ſatisfie God and me, and all the World in that, and you ſhall receive my Anſwer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

Lord Preſid. The Court expects you ſhou'd give them a finall Anſwer, their purpoſe is to adjourn till Monday next, if you do not ſatisfie your ſelf, though we do tell you our Authority, we are ſatisfied with our Authority, and it is upon *Gods Authority* and the Kingdoms; and that peace you ſpeak of will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and that's our preſent work.

The King. Let me tell you, if you ſhew me what lawfull Authority you have, I ſhall be ſatisfied: But that you have ſaid ſatisfies no reaſonable man.

L. Presid. That's in your apprehension; we think it reasonable that are your *Judges.*

The King. 'Tis not my apprehension, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Lord Presid. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this dayes proceedings.

1. It is to be observed, That as the Charge was reading against the King, the silver head of his staff fell off, the which he wondered at, and seeing none to take it up, he stooped for it himself.

2. That as the King was going away, he looked with a very austere countenance upon the Court, with stirring of his Hat, replyed, Well Sir, (when the *L. President* commanded the Guard to take him away) and at his going down he said, *I do not fear that* (pointing with his staff at the Sword.) The people in the Hall, as he went down the stairs, cryed out, some, *God save the King*, and some for *Justice.*

O yes being called, the *Court* adjourned till Monday next, *Jan.* 22. at 9. in the morning to the painted Chamber, and from thence to the same place again in *Westminster* Hall.

At

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster *Hall, Monday* Jan. 22. 1648.

OYes made: Silence commanded. The Court called, and answered to their names.

Silence commanded upon pain of imprisonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all such as make disturbance.

Upon the Kings coming in a shout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard to fetch and take into his custody those who make any disturbance.

Mr. *Solicitor*. May it please your Lordship my Lord President,

I did at the last Court, in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibit and give into this Court a charge of high Treason, and other high Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of *England*; and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, he was not then pleased to give an Answer, but instead of answering, did there dispute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court, in behalf of the Kingdome of *England*, is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation; which if he shall refuse to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken

ken *pro confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice.

L. Preſid. Sir, You may remember at the laſt Court you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge againſt you, containing a Charge of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes, againſt this *Realm of England*; you heard likewiſe, that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you ſhould give an Anſwer to that Charge, that thereupon ſuch proceedings might be had as ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice: you were then pleaſed to make ſome ſcruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often anſwered, That it was by authority of the *Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to account for thoſe high and capitall Miſdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that the Court hath taken into conſideration what you then ſaid, they are fully ſatisfied with their own authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge that is exhibited againſt you, they do expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny it; if you deny it, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdome to be made good againſt you: their authority they do avow

to the whole world, that the whole Kingdome are to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to reſt ſatisfied with it, and therefore you are to loſe no more time, but to give a poſitive Anſwer thereunto.)

The King. When I was here laſt, 'tis true, I made that Queſtion, and truly if it were onely my own particular caſe, I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with the Proteſtation I made the laſt time: I was here againſt the legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any Superiour Juriſdiction on Earth; but it is not my caſe alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the people of England; and do you pretend what you will, I ſtand more for their Liberties. For if power without Law may make Lawes, may alter the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, I do not know what Subject he is in *England* that can be ſure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore when that I came here, I did expect particular Reaſons to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed againſt me here, and therefore I am a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this particular, becauſe the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative of ten is very hard to do: but ſince I cannot perſwade you to do it, I ſhall tell you my Reaſons as ſhort as I can.

My Reaſons why in conſcience, and the duty I owe to God firſt, and my people next, for the preſervation of their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates; I conceive I cannot anſwer this, till I be ſatisfied of the legality of it. All

All proceedings against any man whatsoever---

L. Presid. Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice, you are about to enter into Argument, and dispute concerning the authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit unto it, you are to give in a punctuall and direct Answer, whether you will answer your Charge, or no, and what your Answer is.

The King. Sir, by your favour, I do not know the forms of Law, I do know Law & Reason, though I am no Lawyer profess'd, but I know as much Law as any Gentleman in *Engl.* and therefore (under favour) I do plead for the Liberties of the People of *Engl.* more than you do, and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man without Reasons given for it, it were unreasonable; but I must tell you, That that Reason that I have as thus formed, I cannot yield unto it.

L. President. Sir, I must interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you speak of Law and Reason, it is fit there should be Law and Reason, and there is both against you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, it is the reason of the Kingdome, and they are

theſe too that have given that Law, according to which you ſhould have ruled and reigned: Sir, you are not to diſpute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court, Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

The King. I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent; not by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents, or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurres againſt any proceeding as legal; and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reaſons; if you deny that, you deny Reaſon.

L. Preſid. Sir, you have offered ſomething to the Court, I ſhall ſpeak ſomething unto you the ſence of the Court, Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to diſpute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur the Juriſdiction of the Court, if you do, I muſt let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they ſit here by the Authority of the Commons of *Engl.* and all your Predeceſſors & you are reſponſible to them.

The King. I deny that, ſhew me one preſident.

L. Pr. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is ſpeaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it, if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they have conſidered of their Juriſdiction, they do affirm their own Juriſdiction.

The

The King. I ſay Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of *Engl.* was never a Court of Judicature, I would know how they came to be ſo.

L. Preſid. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that ſpeech and theſe diſcourſes.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth, Charls Stuart *King of* Engl. *You have been accuſed on the behalf of the People of* England *of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes; the Court have determined that you ought to anſwer the ſame.*

The King. I will anſwer the ſame ſo ſoon as I know by what Authority you do this.

L. Preſid. If this be all that you will ſay, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take charge of him back again.

The King. I do require that I may give in my Reaſons why I do not anſwer, and give me time for that.

L. Preſid. Sir, 'Tis not for Priſoners to require.

The King. Priſoners? Sir, I am not an ordinary Priſoner.

L. Preſid. The Court hath conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirmed their Juriſdiction; if you will not anſwer, we ſhall give order to record your default.

The King. You never heard my Reaſons yet.

L. Preſid. Sir, Your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdiction.

The King. Shew me that Juriſdiction where reaſon is not to be heard.

Lord Preſident. Sir, We ſhew it you here, the Commons of England; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleaſure of the Court, and, it may be, their finall determination.

The King. Shew me where ever the Houſe of Commons was a court of Judicature of that kind.

Lord Preſident. Serjeant, Take away the Priſoner.

The King. Well Sir, Remember that the King is not ſuffered to give in his Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

Lord Preſident. Sir, You are not to have liberty to uſe this language; how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all *England* and the World judge.

The King. Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took -----defended my ſelf with Armes, I never took up Armes againſt the People, but for the Laws.

Lord Preſident. The command of the court muſt be obeyed; no anſwer will be given to the charge.

The King. Well Sir.

Then the Lord Preſident ordered the default to be recorded, and the contempt of the court, and that no anſwer would be given to the charge.

And ſo was guarded forth to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s houſe.

Then

Then the court adjourned to the painted chamber on Tuesday at twelve a clock, and from thence they intend to adjourn to *Westminster* Hall, at which time all persons concerned are to give their attendance.

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall, *Tuesday*, Jan. 23. 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy three persons present.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an austere countenance upon the Court, and sits down.

The second O Yes made, and silence commanded.

Mr. *Cook*. Solicitor General. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President.

This is now the third time, that by the great grace and favour of this high Court the prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any issue joyned in the cause. My Lord,, I did at the first Court exhibit a charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the *Theatre* of *England*: That a King of *England*, trusted to keep the Law, That had taken an Oath so to do, That had Tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design, to subvert & destroy our Laws, and introduce an *Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Government* in the defence of the *Par-*

liament and their Authority, ſet up his *Standard* for War againſt his Parliament and People, and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the *people of England*, that he might ſpeedily be required to make an Anſwer to the Charge.

But my Lord, inſtead of making any anſwer, he did then diſpute the Authority of this High Court, your Lordſhip was pleaſed to give him a further day to conſider, and to put in his Anſwer; which day being yeſterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and poſitive anſwer, either by denying or confeſſion of it: but (my Lord) he was then pleaſed for to demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-rule and command him to give a direct and poſitive anſwer. My Lord, beſides this great delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly move your Lordſhip for ſpeedy judgement againſt him. My Lord, I might preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole, that according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, that if a Priſoner ſhall ſtand as contumacious in contempt, and ſhall not put in an iſſuable plea, guilty or not guilty of the Charge given againſt him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal; that as by an implicite confeſſion, it may be taken *pro confeſſo*, as it hath been done to thoſe who have deſerved more favour than the Priſoner at the Bar has done: but beſides, my Lord, I ſhall humbly preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole Fact; the Houſe of

Com-

Commons, the ſupreme authority and juriſdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (my Lord) as clear as chryſtall, and as the Sun that ſhines at noon day, which if your Lordſhip and the court be not ſatisfied in, I have notwithſtanding, on the people of *Englands* behalf, ſeverall witneſſes to produce: And therefore, I do humbly pray, and yet I muſt confeſſe it is not ſo much I, as the innocent blood that hath been ſhed, the cry whereof is very great for juſtice and judgement; and therefore I do humbly pray, That ſpeedy *Judgement* be pronounced againſt the priſoner at the Bar.

Lord Preſ. Sir, You have heard what is moved by the Council on the behalf of the Kingdom againſt you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the court cannot forget what delatory dealings the court hath found at your hands, you were pleaſed to propound ſome Queſtions, you have had your Reſolution upon them. You were told over and over again, That the court did affirme their own juriſdiction: That it was not for you nor any other man, to diſpute the *Juriſdiction of the Supreme and higheſt Authority of England*, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there muſt be no diſpute; yet you did perſiſt in ſuch carriage, as you give no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the *high Court, that conſtituted this Court of Juſtice.* Sir,

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, That they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the supreme *Court of England*, to be thus trifled with all, and that they might in justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce judgement against you; yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs, I do require you, That you make a positive Answer unto this charge that is against you, Sir, in plain terms, for Justice knowes no respect of persons; you are to give your positive and final Answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your charge.

The King after a little pause, said:

When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the *Liberties of the People of England*; I was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not.

Lord President. Sir, You have had the Resolution of the court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, That having such a charge of so high a Nature against you, and your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, *And to Answer to your* charge. Sir, if you Answer to your Charge, which the court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your contempt,

tempt, yet if you be able to answer to your charge, when you have once Answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But Sir, I must let you know from the court, as their commands, that you are to not be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the *Matter* that is *Charged* upon you.

The King. For the *Charge*, I value it not a rush, it is the *Liberty* of the People of England that I stand for; for me to acknowledge a new *Court* that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of England for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws, indeed I do not know how to do it; you spoke very well the first day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of *the Liberties of my People*: The same Obligation you speak of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him, and to my People, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient Lawes of the Kingdome, therefore untill that I may know that this is not against the *Fundamentall Lawes* of the Kingdom, by your favour I can put in no particular* charge: If you will give me time, I will then shew you my reasons why: *but I supposed* I cannot do it, and this ——— *he meant ans.*

* *This is as the King expressed.*

Here being interrupted, he said:

By

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me; how I came here I know not, there's no Law for it to make your King your Prisoner: I was in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known ——— two Houses of Parliament that was the Representative of the Kingdom, and when that I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and brought hither, and therefore ———

Here the Lord *President* said; Sir, you know the pleasure of the Court.

The King. By your favour Sir:

L. Pres. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those discourses; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your positive Answer----*Clerk.* Do your Duty.

The King. Duty Sir!

The Clerk reads.

Charles Stuart King *of* England, *You are accused in the behalf of the Commons of* England *of divers high crimes and Treasons, which charge hath been read unto You; the court now requires you to give Your positive and final Answer by way of confession, or deniall of the charge.*

The King. Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the People of *England* of the clearnesse of my proceeding, not by way of Answer, not in this way, but to satisfie them that

that I have done nothing againſt that Truſt that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court againſt their Priviledges, to alter the fundamentall Lawes of that Kingdom, Sir you muſt excuſe me.

L. Preſ. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly diſowned this Court, and put an affront upon it; how far you have preſerved Priviledges of the People, your Actions have ſpoke it; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their actions, you have written your meaning in bloudy Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but Sir, you underſtand the pleaſure of the Court, ——— Clerk Record the default, ——— and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Priſoner, take him back again.

The King. I will onely ſay this one word more to you, if it were only My own particular, I would not ſay any more, nor interrupt you.

Lord Preſ. Sir, you have heard the pleaſure of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, That all perſons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in *Weſtminſter* Hall by ten of the clock the next morning. *Cryer.*

Cryer. God bleſſe the Kingdome of *England.*

Wedneſday, January 24. 1648.

THis day it was expected the *High Court of Juſtice* would have met in *Weſtminſter* Hall about ten of the clock; but at the time appointed, one of the Uſhers, by direction of the *Court* (then ſitting in the *Painted Chamber*) gave notice to the people there aſſembled, That in regard the Court was then upon the examination of Witneſſes in relation to preſent affairs, in the *Painted Chamber*, they could not ſit there; but all perſons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further Summons.

The Proceedings of the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, *on Saturday the* 27. *of* January, 1648.

OYes made; Silence commanded. The *Court* called, Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, *Lord Preſident* (in a Scarlet robe) with 68. other Members of the Court.

As the King comes in, a cry made in the Hall for *Execution, juſtice, Execution.*

King. I ſhall deſire a word to be heard a little, and I hope I ſhall give no occaſion of interruption.

Lord Preſid. You may anſwer in your time, hear the Court firſt.

King.

King. If it pleaſe you, Sir, I deſire to be heard, and I ſhall not give any occaſion of interruption, and it is onely in a word; a ſudden Judgement.--

Lord Preſid. Sir, you ſhall be heard in due time, but you are to heare the Court firſt.

King. Sir, I deſire it, it will be in order to what I believe the Court will ſay; and therefore Sir, a haſty judgement is not ſo ſoon recalled.

Lord Preſid. Sir, you ſhall be heard before the Judgement be given, and in the meane time you forbear.

King. Well Sir, ſhall I be heard before the Judgement be given?

Lord Preſid. Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or moſt of you here preſent, That the Priſoner at the Bar hath been ſeverall times conventeed, and brought before the Court to make Anſwer to a Charge of Treaſon, and other high crimes exhibited againſt him in the name of the People of * *England*; to which Charge being required to Anſwer, he hath been ſo far from obeying the commands of the Court by ſubmitting to their Juſtice, as he began to take upon him to offer reaſoning and debate unto the authority of the Court, and of the higheſt Court that conſtituted thē to try and judge him; but being overruled in that, and required to make

* *Here a Lady interrupted the court, (ſaying*, not half the people) *but ſhe was ſoon ſilenced.*

make his answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit or answer: Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, to the trust reposed in them, nor that any mans wilfulnesse prevent justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their consideration; They have considered of the contumacy and of that confession, which in Law doth arise upon that contumacy; They have likewise considered of the notoriety of the Fact charged upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole matter they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be now pronounced against this Prisoner: but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read, and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him; yet Sir, thus much I must tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts; That if that you have to say be to offer any debate concerning jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the root, that is, the power and *Supreme Authority of the Commons of England*, which this court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrationall thing in them to doe, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them, that they should presume to judge upon their Superiority, from whom there's no Appeal. But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self concerning the matters charged, the

Court

Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

The King. Since that I see that you will not hear any thing of debate concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the peace of the Kingdome, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it; but onely I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call more dear to me than my Life, which is, *My Conscience and My Honour*; and if I had respect to my life more than the *Peace of the Kingdome*, the *Liberty of the Subject*, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my self; for by that at least-wise I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will pass upon me; therefore certainly Sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world, if that my true zeal to my Countrey had not over-born the care that I have of my own preservation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done: now Sir I conceive that an *hasty Sentence* once past may be sooner repented than recalled: & truly the self-same desire that I have for the *peace of the Kingdom & the liberty of the Subject*, more than *my own particular*, does make me now at last desire, That having something for to say that concerns both, I desire before *sentence* be given, that I may be heard in the *Painted Chamber* before the Lords &

Commons, this delay cannot be prejudiciall to you whatsoever I say, if that I say no reason, those that hear me must be judges, I cannot be judge of that that I have; if it be reason, and really for *the welfare of the Kingdome, and the liberty of the Subject*, I am sure on't, very well 'tis worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, I hope it's reall, *the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdome*, that you will grant me the hearing before any *Sentence* be passed; I onely desire this, that you will take this into your consideration, it may be you have not heard of it before-hand; if you will, I'le retire, and you may think of it; but if I cannot get this *Liberty*, I do here protest, that so fair shews of *Liberty* and *Peace* are pure shews, and not otherwise, than that you will not hear your KING.

L. Pres. Sir, you have now spoken.

The King. Yes Sir.

L. Pr. And this that you have said is a further declining of the *Jurisdiction of this Court*, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

The King. Pray excuse me, Sir, for my interruption, because you mistake me, it is not a declining of it; you do judge me before you hear me speak; I say it will not, I doe not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court; yet Sir, in this give me leave to say, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it in this; I do protest it is not the declining of it,

since,

since, I say, if that I do say any thing but that that is for the *Peace of the Kingdome*, and the *Liberty of the Subject*, then the shame is mine. Now I desire that you will take this into your consideration; if you will I'le withdraw.

L. Pres. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the first time in person you have offered it to the Court: Sir, you say you do not decline the jurisdiction of the *Court*.

The King. Not in this that I have said.

L. Pres. I understand you well Sir, but nevertheless, that which you have offered seems to be contrary to that saying of yours; for the *Court* are ready to give a Sentence: it is not as you say, *That they will not heare your King*; for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleasure for three *Courts* together, to hear what you would say to the peoples charge against you, to which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all: Sir, this tends to a further delay; truly Sir, such delaies as these neither may the Kindome nor Justice well bear; you have had three severall daies to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased. This Court is founded upon that *Authority of the Commons of England, in whom rests the Supreme Jurisdiction*; that which you now tender is to have another Jurisdiction, and a *co-ordinate Jurisdiction*, I know very well you ex-

preſs your ſelf. Sir, That notwithſtanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheleſs you would proceed on here, I did hear you ſay ſo; but Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, muſt needs be in delay of the Juſtice here, ſo as if this Court be reſolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer they are not bound in juſtice to grant. But Sir, according to that you ſeem to deſire, & becauſe you ſhall know the further pleaſure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

The King. Shall I withdraw?

L. Preſid. Sir, You ſhall know the pleaſure of the *Court* preſently, the *Court* withdraws for half an hour into the *Court of Wards.*

Serjeant at Arms, the *Court* gives command that the Priſoner be withdrawn, and they give order for his return again.

The *Court* withdraws for half an hour & returns.

L. Preſid. Serj. at Arms, ſend for your Priſoner.

Sir, You were pleaſed to make a motion here to the Court to offer a deſire of yours, touching the propounding of ſomewhat to the Lords in the Painted Chamber for the Peace of the Kingdom; Sir, you did in effect receive an anſwer before the Court adjourned; truly Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have conſidered of what you have

have moved, and have considered of their own *Authority*, which is founded, as hath been often said, upon the *Supreme Authority of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament*. The Court acts accordingly to their commission. Sir, the return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occasioned some little further delay, and they are JUDGES appointed by the highest JUDGES, and *Judges* are no more to delay then they are to deny Justice; they are good words in the old *Charter of Engl. Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus justitiam*. There must be no delay; but the truth is, Sir, and so every man here observes it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might long since have proceeded to judgement against you; and notwithstanding what you have offered they are resolved to proceed to punishment and to judgment, and that is their unanimous resolution.

The King. Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute, I am no *Sceptick* for to deny the power that you have, I know that you have power enough; Sir, I confess, I think it would have been for the Kingdoms peace, if you would have taken the pains for to have shewn the lawfulness of your power: for this delay that I have desired, I confess it is a delay, but it is a delay very important

for the peace of the Kingdome, for it is not my person that I look on alone, it is the Kingdomes welfare, and the Kingdomes peace. It is an old sentence, *That we should think on long before we have resolved of great matters suddenly*; Therefore Sir, I do say again, that I doe put at your doors all the inconveniency of an hasty *Sentence*; I confess I have been here now I think this week, this day eight daies was the day I came here first, but a little delay of a day or two further may give Peace, whereas an *hasty Judgement* may bring on that trouble and perpetuall inconveniency to the Kingdome, that the child that is unborn may repent it; and therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to God and to my Countrey, I do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, or any other chamber that you will appoint me.

L. Pres. Sir, you have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the Resolution and the Judgement of the Court in it, and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for your self then you have said, before they proceed to Sentence.

The King. I say this, Sir, That if you hear me, if you will give me but this delay, I doubt not but I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and to my people after that, and therefore I do require you, as you will answer it at the dread-

full

full day of Judgement, that you will consider it once again.

L. Presid. Sir, I have received direction from the *Court*.

The King. Well Sir.

L. Presid. If this must be reinforced, or any thing of this nature, your answer must be the same, and they will proceed to *Sentence*, if you have nothing more to say.

The King. I have nothing more to say, but I shall desire that this may be entred what I have said.

L. Pres. The Court then, Sir, hath something to say unto you, which although I know it wil be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their Duty. Sir, you speak very well of a precious thing that you call *Peace*, & it had been much to be wished that God had put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and really endeavoured and studied the *Peace of the Kingdome*, as now in words you seem to pretend; but as you were told the other day, *Actions must expound Intentions*, yet Actions have been clean contrary; & truly Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erroneous principles, the *Kingdom* hath felt it to their smart, and it will be no ease to you to think of it; for, Sir, you have held your self, and let fall such language, as if you had been no waies subject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your Superiour. Sir, the Court is very well

ſenſible of it, and I hope ſo are all the underſtanding people of *Engl.* *That the Law is your Superiour*, that you ought to have ruled according to the Law, you ought to have done ſo Sir. I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done ſo; but Sir, the difference hath been who ſhall be the *Expoſitors of this Law*; Sir, whether you & your party out of *Courts of Juſtice* ſhall take upon them to expound Law, or the *Courts of Juſtice*, who are the Expounders; nay, the *Soveraign* and the *High Court of Juſtice*, the *Parl. of Engl.* who are not onely *the higheſt Expounders*, but the *ſole makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to ſet your ſelf with your ſingle judgement, and thoſe that adhere unto you againſt the *higheſt Court of Juſtice*, that is not Law Sir; as the Law is your Superiour, ſo truly Sir there is ſomething that is ſuperiour to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent* or *Author* of the Law, and that is the *people of England*; for Sir, as they are thoſe that at the firſt (as other countries have done) did chuſe to themſelves this *form of Government*, even for Juſtice ſake, that Juſtice might be adminiſtred, that Peace might be preſerved; ſo Sir, they gave Laws to their Governors, according to which they ſhould govern; and if thoſe Laws ſhould have proved inconvenient or prejudiciall to the publick, they had a power in them, & reſerved to themſelves to alter as they ſhal ſee cauſe. Sir, it is very true what ſome of your ſide have ſaid, *Rex non habet parem*

in

in Regno; This Court will say the same, while *King, That you have not your Peer* in some sense, for you are *Major singulis*, but they will aver again, that you are *Minor universis*; and the same Author tells you that *in exhibitione juris*, there you have no power, but in *quasi minimus*,

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet superiorem, Deum & Legem, etiam & curiam*, and so saies the same Author; and truly, Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere frænum, They ought to bridle him*; & Sir, we know very well the stories of old, Those Wars that were called the *Barons Wars*, when the Nobility of the Land did stand out *for the liberty and property of the Subject*, and would not suffer the Kings that did invade to play the Tyrants freer, but call them to account for it, we know that truth, That they did *Frænum ponere*. But Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not so mindfull of their own Honor and the Kingdoms good, as the *Barons* of *England* will not be unmindfull of what is for their preservation, and for their safety. *Justitiæ fruendi causa Reges constituit sunt*: This we learn, the end of having Kings, or any other Governors, its for the enjoying of justice, that's the end. Now Sir, if so be the King will go contrary to the end of his Government; Sir, he must understand that he is but an Officer of trust, & he ought to discharge that trust, and they are to take order for the animadversion

and

and punishment of such an offending Governor.

This is not Law of yesterday Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your people,) but it is Law of old; And we know very well the *Authors* and the *Authorities* that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the Election of Kings, upon the *Oath* that they took unto their People; and if they did not observe it, there were those things called Parliaments; The *Parliaments* were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the *Author*) *the plaints and wrongs done of the King and the Queen, or their Children, such wrong especially when the People could have no where else any remedy.* Sir, that hath been the People of *Englands* case, they could not have their remedy else where but in *Parliament*.

Sir, *Paliaments* were ordained for that purpose to redresse the grievances of the People, that was their main end; and truly Sir, if so be that the Kings of England had been rightly mindfull of themselves, they were never more in *Majesty and State* then in the *Parliament*: but how forgetfull some have been, *Stories* have told us; We have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it. Sir, by the old Laws of England, I speak these things the rather to you, because you were pleased to let fall the other day, you thought you had as much knowledge in the Law, as most Gentlemen in England: it is very well Sir. And truly Sir, it is very good for the Gentlemen of England to under-

derſtand that Law under which they muſt live, and by which they muſt be governed. And then Sir, the *Scripture* ſayes, *They that know their Maſters will and do it not*, what followes? The Law is your Maſter, the Acts of *Parliament*.

The *Parliaments* were to be kept anciently we find in our *author* twice in the year, *That the ſubject upon any occaſion might have a ready remedy and redreſſe for his Grievance*. Afterwards by ſeverall Acts of *Parliament* in the daies of your Predeceſſor *Edward the third* they muſt have been once a year. Sir, what intermiſſion of Parliaments hath been in your time it is very well known, and the ſad conſequences of it, and what in the interim inſtead of theſe Parliaments, hath been by you by an high and *Arbitrary* hand introduced upon the people, that likewiſe hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had ſo brought it about, that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament. Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were againſt the Ancient and your *Native* Kingdom of *Scotland*: The *Parliament* of *England* not ſerving your ends againſt them, you were pleaſed to diſſolve it. Another great neceſſity occaſioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your deſigns and plots and indeavours all along have been for the ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole Kingdom: And truly Sir, in that you did ſtrike at all; that, had been

been a sure way to have brought about that that this laies upon you, *Your Intention to Subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land.* For the great Bulwark of *Liberty of the People*, is the *Parliament* of *England*; and to Subvert and Root up that, which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow you had confounded the liberties and the property of *England.*

Truly Sir, it makes me call to mind, I cannot forbear to expresse it, for Sir, we must deal plainly with you, according to the merits of your cause, so is our Commission, it makes me call to mind (these proceedings of yours) that we read of a great *Roman Emperor*, by the way let us call him *a great Roman Tyrant*, *Caligula*, *that wisht that the people of* Rome *had had but one neck*, *that at one blow he might cut it off*: and your proceedings have been somewhat like to this; for the body of the people of England hath been (and where else?) represented but in the Parliament, and could you have but confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the neck of *England.* But God hath reserved better things for us, and hath pleased for to confound your designs, and to break your Forces, and to bring your Person into Custody, that you might be responsible to Justice.

Sir, we know very well, That it is a question on your side very much prest, *by what President we shall proceed*: Truly Sir, for, *Presidents*, I shall not upon

upon these occasions institute any long discourse, but it is no new thing to cite *Presidents* almost of all *Nations*, where the people (when power hath been in their hands) have been made bold to call their Kings to account, and where the change of *Government* hath upon occasion of the *Tyranny and Mis-Government* of those that have been placed over them; I will not spend time to mention *France*, or *Spain*, or the Empire, or other Countries, volumes may be written of them; But truly Sir, that of the Kingdome of *Arragon*, I shall think some of us have thought upon it, when they have the Justice of *Arragon*, that is a man *tanquam in medio positus*, betwixt the King of *Spain* and the people of the Country, that if wrong be done by the King, he that is the King of *Arragon*, the Justice hath power to reform the wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the Kings Superiour, and is the grand preserver of their priviledges, and hath prosecuted Kings upon their miscarriages.

Sir, What the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedæmonian State*, we know that is the Parliament of *England* to the *English State*; & though *Rome* seem to have lost its *liberty* whē once the Emperours were, yet you shall find some famous acts of justice even done by the Senate of *Rome*: that great *Tyrant* of his time, *Nero*, condemned & judged by the *Senate*.

But

But truly Sir, to you I should not mention these Forreign examples and stories. If you look but over *Tweed*, we find enough in your native Kingdome of *Scotland*. If we look to your first King *Fergustus*, that your stories make mention of, he was an elective King, he died, and left two Sons both in their minority, the Kingdome made choice of their Uncle his Brother to govern in the *minority*; afterwards the elder Brother giving small hopes to the People that he would rule or govern well, seeking to supplant that good Uncle of his that governed them justly, they set the elder aside, and took to the younger. Sir, if I should come to what your stories make mention of, you know very well you are the 109. King of *Scotland*; for to mention so many Kings as that Kingdom according to their power and priviledge, have made bold to deal withall, some to banish, and some to imprison, and some to put to death, it would be too long; and as one of your Authors saies, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own stories make mention of; *Reges* (say they) we do create, we created Kings at first; *Leges, &c.* We imposed Laws upon them: and as they are chosen by the suffrages of the people at the first, so upon just occasion, by the same suffrages, they may be taken down again: and we will be bold to say, that no Kingdom hath yielded more plentifull experience then that your Native Kingdom of *Scot-*

land

land hath done concerning the depoſition, and the puniſhment of their offending and tranſgreſſing Kings, &c.

It is not far to go for an example neer you, your Grandmother ſet aſide, and your Father an Infant crowned: and the State did it here in *England*, here hath not been a want of ſome examples, they have made bold (the Parliament, and the people of *England*) to call their Kings to account, there are frequent examples of it in the *Saxons* time, the time before the Conqueſt, ſince the Conqueſt there wants not ſome Preſidents neither, King *Edward* the ſecond, King *Richard* the ſecond, were dealt with ſo by the Parliament, as they were depoſed and deprived: and truly Sir, who ever ſhall look into their ſtories, they ſhall not find the Articles that are charged upon them to come neer to that height and capitalneſs of Crimes that are laid to your charge, nothing neer.

Sir, You were pleaſed to ſay the other day, wherein they diſſent, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether, Sir, if you were as the Charge ſpeaks, and no otherwiſe, admitted King of *England*: but for that you were pleaſed then to alledg, how that almoſt for a thouſand years theſe things have been, ſtories will tell you, if you go no higher then the time of the Conqueſt, if you do come down ſince the Conqueſt, you are the

 from *William* called the Conqueror, you

ſhall

ſhall find one half of them to come meerly from the State, and not meerly upon the point of Deſcent; it were eaſie to be inſtanced to you, the time muſt not be loſt that way. And truly Sir, what a grave and learned Judge in his time, and well known to you, and is ſince printed for poſterity, *That although there was ſuch a thing as a Deſcent many times, yet the Kings of* England *ever held the greateſt aſſurance of their Titles when it was declared by Parliament*: And Sir, your *Oath*, the manner of your *Coronation* doth ſhew plainly, That the Kings of *England*, although its true, by the Law the next perſon in bloud is deſigned; yet if there were juſt cauſe to refuſe him, the people of *England* might do it. For there is a *Contract* and Bargain made between the King and his People, and your *Oath* is taken, and certainly Sir, the Bond is reciprocall, for as you are the liege Lord, ſo they liege Subjects, and we know very well that hath been ſo much ſpok n of, *Ligantis eſt duplex*. This we know now, the one tye, the one Bond, is the bond of perfection, which is due from the Soveraign, the other is the bond of Subjection, that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this Bond be once broken, farewell Soveraignty, *Subjectio trahit*, &c.

Theſe things may not be denied Sir, I ſpeak it the rather, and I pray God it may work upon your heart, that you may be ſenſible of your miſcarriages. For whether you have been, as by your

Office

Office you ought to be *a Protector of* England, or *the destroyer of* England, let all *England* judge, or all the world that hath looked upon it. Sir, though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that is spoken of, yet it must not be denied that your Office was an Office of Trust, and an Office of the highest Trust lodged in any single person; For as you were the grand *Administrator of Justice*, and others were as your *Delegates* to see it done throughout your Realms; if your great Office were to do Justice, and preserve your People from wrong, and instead of doing that, you will be the *great wrong-doer your self*; If instead of being a *Conservator of the Peace*, you will be *the Grand disturber of the Peace*, surely this is contrary to your Office, contrary to your Trust. Now Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you speak of your Title by *Descent*, let all men know, that great Offices are seizable and forfeitable, as if you had it but for a year, and for your life; Therefore Sir, it will concern you to take into your serious consideration your great miscarriages in this kind.

Truly Sir, I shall not particularize the many miscarriages of your Reign whatsoever, they are famously known; it had been happy for the Kingdome, and happy for you too, if it had not been so much known, and so much felt, as the story of your miscarriages must needs be, and hath been already.

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *higheſt Court* hath been, and is, to try and judge you for great offences of yours. Sir, the Charge hath called you *Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murtherer, and a publick Enemy to the Common wealth of England.* Sir, it had been well, if that any of all theſe terms might rightly and juſtly have been ſpared, if any one of them at all.

King. Ha?

Lord Preſid. Truly Sir, we have been told, *Rex eſt dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if ſo be that be the definition of a *Tyrant*, then ſee how you come ſhort of it in your Actions, whether the higheſt *Tyrant* by that way of *Arbitrary Government*, and that yon have ſought for to introduce, and that you have ſought to put, you were putting upon the People, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny as any of your Predeceſſors were guilty of, nay, many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term *Traytor* cannot be ſpared, we ſhall eaſily agree it muſt denote and ſuppoſe a breach of Truſt, and it muſt ſuppoſe it to be done by a Superior; and therefore Sir, as the people of *England* might have incurred that, reſpecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law; ſo on the other ſide, when you did break your Truſt to the Kingdom, you did break your truſt to your Superior: For the Kingdom is that for which you were truſted: And there-

fore

fore Sir, for this breach of Trust when you are called to account, you are called to account by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat.* And Sir, the *People of England* cannot be so far wanting to themselves, which God having dealt so miraculously and gloriously for, they having power in their hands, and their great Enemy, they must proceed to do justice to themselves and to you; For, Sir, the Court could heartily desire, That you would lay your hand upon your heart, and consider what you have done amisse, that you whold endeavour to make your peace with God: Truly Sir, These are your high crimes, Tyranny and Treason.

There is a third thing too if those had not been, and that is Murther, which is laid to your charge. All the bloody Murthers that have been committed since this time that the division was betwixt you and your People, must be laid to your charge, that have been acted or committed in these late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying sin; and truly Sir, if any man will ask us what punishment is due to a Murtherer, Let Gods Law, let no mans Law speak. Sir, I will presume that you are so well read in Scripture as to know what God himself hath said concerning *the shedding of mans blood: Gen.9. Numb.35.* will tell you what the punishment is, and which this Court in behalf of the Kingdom are sensible of, of that innocent blood that has been shed, whereby indeed the

Land ſtands ſtill defiled with that blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleanſed but with the ſhedding of the blood of him that ſhed this blood.* Sir, we know no Diſpenſation from this blood in that Commandement, *Thou ſhalt do no murther*; we do not know but that it extends to Kings as well as to the meaneſt Peaſants, the meaneſt of the People; the command is univerſall. Sir, Gods Law forbids it, Mans Law forbids it, nor do we know that there is any manner of exception, not even in mans Lawes, for the puniſhment of Murther in you. 'Tis true, that in the caſe of Kings, every private hand was not to put forth it ſelfe to this work for their Reformation and puniſhment: But Sir, the people repreſented having power in their hands, had there been but one wilfull act of Murther by you committed, had power to have convented you, and to have puniſhed you for it.

But then Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all thoſe reſpects that have been ſpoken, hy reaſon of your *Tyranny*, *Treaſon*, *breach of Truſt*, and the Murthers that have been committed, ſurely Sir, it muſt drive you into a ſad conſideration concerning your eternall condition: as I ſaid at firſt, I know it cannot be pleaſing to you to hear any ſuch things as theſe are mentioned unto you from this Court, for ſo we do call our ſelves, and juſtifie our ſelves to be a Court, and a *High Court of Juſtice*, authorized by the high-

eſt

eſt and ſolemneſt Court of the Kingdome, as we have often ſaid; and although you do yet endeavour what you may to diſ-court us, yet we do take knowledge of our ſelves to be ſuch a Court as can adminiſter Juſtice to you, and we are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I ſhall ſay before the reading of your Sentence, it is but this; The Court does heartily deſire, that you will ſeriouſly think of thoſe evils that you ſtand guilty of. Sir, you ſaid well to us the other day, you wiſht us to have God before our eyes; Truly Sir, I hope all of us have ſo, that God we know is a King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, that God with whom there is no reſpect of perſons, That God that is the avenger of innocent blood, we have that God before us, that God that does beſtow a curſe upon them that withhold their hands from ſhedding of blood, which is the caſe of guilty Malefactors, and that do deſerve death; That God we have before our eyes, and were it not that the conſcience of our duty hath called us unto this place, and this imployment, Sir, you ſhould have had no appearance of a Court here: but Sir, we muſt prefer the diſcharge of our duty unto God and unto the Kingdome, before any other reſpect whatſoever. And although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are ſeverely threatned by ſome of your party what they intend to do, Sir, we do here declare, that we ſhall not decline or

forbear the doing of our duty in the administration of Justice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God should permit those men to effect all *that bloody design* in hand against us. Sir, we will say, and we will declare it as those Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worship the golden Image that *Nebuchadnezzar* had set up, *That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were neer unto*; but yet if he would not do it, yet, notwithstanding that, they would not fall down and worship the Image; we shall thus apply it; That though we should not be delivered from those bloody hands and hearts that conspire the overthrow of the Kingdome in generall, of us in particular for acting in this great work of Justice, though we should perish in the work, yet by Gods grace, and by Gods strength, we will go on with it: And this is all our Resolutions. Sir, I say for your self, we do heartily wish and desire, that God would be pleased to give you a sense of your sins, that you would see wherein you have done amisse, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from *bloud-guiltinesse*. A good King was once guilty of that particular thing, and was clear otherwise, saving in the matter of *Uriah*. Truly Sir, the story tels us, that he was a repentant King, and it signifies enough that he had dyed for it, but that God was pleased to accept of him and to give him his pardon,

thou

thou ſhalt not die, but the child ſhall die; thou haſt given cauſe to the enemies of God to blaſpheme.

King. I would deſire onely one word before you give ſentence, and that is, That you would hear me concerning thoſe great imputations that you have laid to my charge.

Lord Preſid. Sir, you muſt give me now leave to go on, for I am not far from your *Sentence*, and your time is now paſt.

King. But I ſhall deſire you will hear me a few words to you, for truly what ever *Sentence* you will put upon me, in reſpect of thoſe heavy *imputations* that I ſee by your ſpeech you have put upon me, Sir, it is very true that----

Lord Preſident. Sir, I muſt put you in mind; Truly Sir, I would not not willingly, at this time eſpecially, interrupt you in any thing you have to ſay that is proper for us to admit of; but Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a ſort of people met together, and we know what Language we receive from your partie.

King. I know nothing of that.

Lord Preſ. You diſ-avow us as a *Court*, and therefore for you to addreſſe your ſelf to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you ſay, it is not to be permitted; and the *truth* is, all along from the firſt time you were pleaſed to diſ-avow and diſown us, the Court needed

not to have heard you one word; for unleſs they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to ſpeak: Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we ſhould heare you freely, and we ſhould not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have ſaid or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excuſing, or for in part excuſing thoſe great and hainous charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But Sir, I ſhall trouble you no longer, your ſins are of ſo large a dimenſion, that if you do but ſeriouſly think of them, they will drive you to a ſad *conſideration*, and they may improve in you a ſad and ſerious *repentance*. And that the Court doth heartily wiſh that you may be ſo *penitent* for what you have done amiſs, that God may have mercy at leaſt-wiſe upon your *better part*. Truly Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to doe that that the Law preſcribes; we are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*; we cannot be unmindfull of what the *Scripture* tells us, *For to acquit the guilty is of equall abomination as to condemn the innocent*, we may not acquit the *guilty*; what *ſentence* the Law affirms to a *Traitor*, *Tyrant*, a *Murtherer* and a *publick Enemy* to the *Countrey*, that *ſentence* you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the *ſentence* of the *Court*.

The

The *L. President* commands the *sentence* to be read, Make an *O yes*, and command silence while the *sentence* is read.

O yes made, silence commanded.

The Clerk read the *sentence*, which was drawn up in parchment.

Whereas the Commons of England *in Parliament have appointed them an High Court of Justice for the Tryall of* Charles Stuart *King of* England, *before whom he had been three times convented, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours was read in the behalf of the Kingdome of* England, *&c.*

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he the said *Charles Stuart* was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do, and so expresst the severall passages at his Tryall in refusing to answer.

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the said Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer, and a publick Enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his Head from his Body.*

After the Sentence read, the *L. President* said, This Sentence now read and published, it is the *Act, Sentence, Judgement,* and *Resolution* of the whole Court.

Here the Court stood up, and assented to what the President said.

The

The King. Will you hear me a word Sir?

L. Pres. Sir, you are not to be heard after the *sentence.*

The King. No Sir?

L. Presid. No Sir, by your favour Sir: Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

The King. I may speak after *sentence*---

By your favour, Sir, I may speak after *sentence* ever.

By your favour (hold) the *sentence*, Sir---

I say, Sir, I do---

I am not suffered to speak, expect what Justice other people will have.

O yes, *All manner of persons that have any thing else to do, are to depart at this time, and to give their attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which place this Court doth forthwith adjourn it self.*

Then the Court rose, and the King went with his Guard to Sir *Robert Cottons*, and from thence to *White-Hall.*

Other

Other matters relating to the proceeding in the Triall of CHARLES STUART late King of *England*.

Resolutions of the Court in the Painted Chamber.

Lunæ Jan. 22. 1648.

THis day the King being withdrawn from the Bar of the *High Court of Justice*, the Commissioners of the said Court of High Justice sate private in the Painted Chamber, and considered of the Kings carriage upon the *Saturday* before, and of all that had then passed, and fully approved of what the *Lord President* had done and said in the managing of the business of that day, as agreeing to their sense: and perceiving what the King aimed at, *viz.* to bring in question (if he could) the Jurisdiction of the Court, and the Authority thereof, whereby they sate; and considering, that in the interim he had not acknowledged them in any sort to be a Court, or his Judges, and through their sides intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the Supreme Authority of the *Commons of England* in their Representative the Commons assembled in Parliament, after advice with their Council learned in both Laws, and mature deliberation had of the matters:

Resolved, that the King should not be suffered to

to argue the Courts Jurisdiction, or that which constituted them a Court; of which debate they had not proper cognisance, nor could they being a derivative judge of that Supreme Court which made them Judges, from which there was no appeale, and did therefore order and direct, *viz.*

Ordered, That in case the King shall again offer to dispute the Authority of the Court, the *Lord President* do let him know, that the Court have taken into consideration his demands of the last day; and that he ought to rest satisfied with this answer, That the *Commons of England assembled in Parliament* have constituted this Court, whose power may not, nor should be permitted to be disputed by him.

That in case the King shall refuse to answer to acknowledge the Court, the Lord President do let him know that the Court will take it as a contumacie, and that it shall be so recorded.

That in case he shall offer to answer with a saving notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogative above the Jurisdiction of the Court:

That the Lord President do in the name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive answer, whether he will own the Court, or not.

That in case the King shall demand a copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his intention to answer, and that declaring his intention, a copy be granted to him,

That

That in case the King shall still persist in his contempt, the L. President do give command to the Clerk to demand of the] King in the name of the Court, in these words following, *viz.*

Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *you are accused in the behalf of the people of* England *of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you.*

The Court requires you to give a positive answer to confess or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to answer the same.

Sir *Hardress Waller*, Col. *Harrison*, Col. *Dean*, Com. Gen. *Ireton*, Col. *Okey*, are appointed to consider of the time and place for the Execution of the King, according to the Sentence given by the High Court of Justice.

Painted Chamber, Lunæ Jan. 29. 1648.

Upon Report made from the Committee for considering of the time and place for the Execution of Judgement against the King, that the said Committee have resolved, that the open street before *White-Hall* is a fit place; and that the said Committee conceive it fit that the King be there executed the morrow. The King having notice thereof, the Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpose, and agreed unto; and ordered it to be engrossed. *Painted Chamber.*

30. *Jan.*

30. Jan. 1648. *The Commissioners met, And Ordered,* That Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryll*, Mr. *Salway*, and Mr. *Dell*, be desired to attend the King to administer to him those spirituall helps as should be suitable to his present condition; and Lieutenant Col: *Goff* is desired forthwith to repaire unto them for that purpose.

Who did so; but after informed the Court, that the King being acquainted therewith, refused to confer with them, expressing that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be executed be covered with black.

The warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to those parties to whom the same was directed, execution was done upon him according to the tenour of the Warrant, about two of the clock in the afternoon of the said Jan. 30.

A true Relation of the *Kings* Speech to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Glocester*, the day before His Death.

HIs Children being come to meet Him, He first gave His Blessing to the Lady Elizabeth, *and bade her remember to tell her Brother* James, *whenever she should see him, that it was his Fathers last desire that he should no more look upon* Charls *as his eldest*

eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it whilest I live; and powring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester *upon His knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the child looked very stedfastly on him) Mark child what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your Brothers,* Charles *and* James, *do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at last: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.*

Another Relation from the Lady *Elizabeth's own Hand.*

WHat the King said to me the 29 of Jan. 1648. *being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him, He told me He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me which He had not to another,*

ther; or leave in writing, because he feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He should die, it being for the Lawes and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiasticall Polity, and Bishop Laud's Book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts never strayed from Her, and that His love should be the same to the last. Withall, He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her, and bid me send His Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all His Friends. So after he had given me his blessing I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them power; and He feared also, to their own souls: and desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should die a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all happier then we could have expected to have been, if He had lived; with many other things, which at present I cannot remember. Elizabeth.

Ano-

Another Relation from the Lady *Elizabeth.*

THe *King said to the Duke of* Glouceſter, *that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of His ſoul; He told him, that He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his ſoul, for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon his bleſſing never to accept of it, unleſs it redounded lawfully upon him; and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.*

A copy of a Letter ſent from the *Prince* to the *King*, dated from the *Hague*, Jan. 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majeſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have ſent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon Your Majeſty, and to bring me an account of it; that I may withall aſſure Your Majeſty, I do not onely pray for Your Majeſty according to My Duty, but ſhall alwayes be ready to do all which ſhall be in my power, to deſerve that bleſſing which I now humbly beg of Your Majeſty, upon*

Hague, Jan. 23. 1648. SIR, Your *Majeſties* moſt humble and moſt obedient Son & Servant,

CHARLES.

The Superſcription was thus, *For the KING.*

His MAJESTY's *last Speech on the Scaffold at* White-Hall *Gate, immediately before His Execution*, Tuesday, Jan. 30. 1648.

ABout ten in the morning the King was brought from S. *James*'s walking on foot through the Park with a Regiment of Foot, part before and part behind him, with Colours flying, Drummes beating, his private Guard of Partizans, with some of his Gentlemen before, and some behind bare-headed, Dr. *Juxton* next behind him, and Col. *Thomlinson* (who had the charge of him) talking with the King bare-headed from the Park, up the stairs into the Gallery, and so into the *Cabinet Chamber*, where he used to lie, where he continued at his Devotion, refusing to dine (having before taken the *Sacrament*) onely about an hour before he came forth he drank a glasse of Claret Wine, and ate a piece of bread about twelve at noon.

From thence he was accompanied by Doctor *Juxton*, Col. *Thomlinson*, and other Officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private Guard of Partizans, with Musketeers on each side, through the Banquetting-house, adjoyning to which the Scaffold was erected, between White-Hall Gate, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from S. *James*'s: The Scaffold was hung

round

round with black, and the floor covered with black, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse placed on the one side of the Scaffold toward *Kings Street*, and on the other side toward *Charing Cross*, and the multitudes of people that came to be spectators very great.

Because we have no other Relation of what His Majesty then spake, save what his Enemies have set forth; nor had his Majesty any copy (being surprized and hastned by those that thirsted after His Blood) save onely a few Heads in a little Scrip of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Bishop of *London*, to whom He gave it: therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy which they have published (some few words being altered to make the sense perfect, which either wilfully, or by mistake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, so that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as 'tis thought) and turning himself to the Souldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect:

His MAJESTIES Speech.

King. *I Shall be very little heard of any body here, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here: indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make ſome men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſhment; but I think it is my duty to God firſt, and to my Countrey, for to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with my* Innocency: *In troth I think it not very needfull for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the world knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament; and I will call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroch upon their Priviledges: they began upon me; it is the Militia they began upon; they confeſt that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me: And to be ſhort, if any body will look upon the dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I: ſo that as the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear me of; I will not, I am in charity: God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament, there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt: for I do believe that ill Inſtruments between them*

and

and me, has been the chief cause of all this blood-shed, so that by way of speaking, as I find my self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon me: Many times he does pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary; I will onely say this, That an unjust Sentence * that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now by an unjust Sentence upon me, that is so: for I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

* Strafford.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is * a good man that will bear me witness, That I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular that have been the causers of my death; who they are, God knowes, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go farther, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular: I pray God with St. Stephen, this be not laid to their Charge; nay not onely so, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not onely to forgive particular men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the last gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I do wish with all my soul, (and I do hope there is some will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdome.

*Pointing to Dr. Juxton.

*Turning to some Gentlemen that wrote.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of

the way, and will put you in the way: first you are out of the way, for certainly all the way you ever have had yet as I could finde by any thing, is in the way of conqueſt, certainly this is an ill way: for Conqueſt (Sir) in my opinion is never juſt, except there be a good juſt cauſe, either for matter of wrong or juſt Title, and then if you go beyond it, the firſt quarrell that you have to it is it that makes it unjuſt at the end that was juſt at firſt: But if it be onely matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirat ſaid to Alexander, that He was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber: and ſo, Sir, I do think the way that you are in, is much out of the way. Now Sir, for to put you in the way, believe it you will never do right, nor God will never proſper you, untill you give God his due, the King his due (that is, my Succeſſors) and the people their due: I am as much for them as any of you. You muſt give God his due, by regulating (rightly) his Church (according to his Scriptures) which is now out of order: For to ſet you in a way particularly now I cannot, but onely this, A Nationall Synod freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not (then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Ax, ſaid, *hurt not the Ax, that may hurt me.* * *For the King) the Lawes of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore becauſe it concerns my own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.*

* Meaning if he did blunt the edge.

For

For the people: And truly I desire their Liberty and freedome as much as any body whosoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and freedome consists in having of Government; those Lawes, by which their Life and their Goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in Government (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them; A Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things, and therefore untill they do that, I mean, That you do put the people in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sir, It was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Lawes changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Martyr of the people.

In truth Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will onely say this to you, That in truth I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said in a little more order, and a little better digested then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom and your own salvations.

Dr. *Juxton.* Will your Majesty (though it may be very well known your Majesties affections to Religion, yet it may be expected that you should) say somewhat for the worlds satisfaction?

King. *I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that, I had almost forgotten it: In troth Sirs, My Conscience in Religion I think is very well known to all the World: and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father; and this honest man I think will witnesse it.* Then turning to the Officers, said: *Sirs, excuse me for this same, I have a good cause, and I have a gracious God, I will say no more.* Then turning to Colonel *Hacker*, he said; *Take care they do not put me to pain, and Sir, this, and it please you:* But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said, *Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax;* then the King to the Executioner said, *I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my hands*-----Then the King called to Doctor *Juxton* for his *Night cap*, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, *Does my hair trouble you?* who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: Then the king turning to Dr. *Juxton*, said, *I have a good Cause and a gracious God on my side.*

* Pointing to Dr. *Juxton.*

Doctor *Juxton.* There is but one Stage more, This Stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: But you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find

find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.*

Dr. *Iuxton.* You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternall Crown; a good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, is my hair well? Then the King took off His Cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor *Iuxton*, saying, Remember * ----- Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Wastcoat, put his Cloak on again, then looked upon the block, said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

* *It is thought for to give it to the Prince.*

Executioner. It is fast Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way, stretching them out, then------*

After that having said two or three words (as he stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lift up; Immediately stooping down, laid his neck upon the Block: And then the executioner again putting his hair under his Cap, the King said (thinking he had been going to strike) stay for the sign.

Executioner. Yes I will & it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, The Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body; the head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the people; which done, it was with the Body put in a coffin covered with black Velvet for

that

that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings there. And from thence it was carried to his house at S. *James's*, where his body was put into a Coffin of Lead, laid there to be seen by the people; and about a fortnight after it was carried to *Windsor*, accompanied with the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquesse of *Hartford*, and the Earle of *Southampton*, and Doctor *Juxton*, Bishop of *London*, and others, and interred in the Chappel Royall in the Vault with *King Henry* the eight, having onely this Inscription upon his Coffin, *Charles King of England.*

Secundi Carolus, sic universa simul Britannia.

2 TIM. 4. 7.

I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.

VERSE 8. *Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousnesse, &c.*

LAMEN. 4. 20.

The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the Heathen.

CHAP. 5. 15, 16, 17.

The joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning.

The Crown is fallen from our Head, wo unto us that we have sinned.

For this our heart is faint, for these things our eyes are dim.

Some

SO fals that Stately *Cedar*, while it ſtood,
That was the onely Glory of the *Wood*:
Great CHARLES; thou earthly God, Celeſtiall Man,
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a Span;
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore.
Thy heavenly Vertues Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verſe.
He that would know Thee right, then, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
He'l find thee *King*, and *Prieſt*, and *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe; and, though in vain,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes call thee back again.
Nor ſhall Oblivion ſit upon Thy Hearſe,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verſe.
Thy ſuffrings and Thy *Death* let no man name;
It was Thy *Glory*, but the Kingdoms *Shame*.

The

A Speech made in Latin by Dr. Lotius, *to King* CHARLES *the II. in the name of the Consistory of* Hague, *and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that Church, upon the death of King* CHARLES *the I.* 7. Calend. Martii, 1649.

Now rendred into English.

Most gracious King,

IT hath pleased God, the Supreme Judge and Moderator of all things, to give a sore wound to Your MAJESTIES *Most Renowned Family*: With the sense whereof we likewise being deeply touched, are here present, that if the great *Comforter* shall minister any word of consolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES bosome.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times lost unto us, when, being too intent upon instrumentall and second Causes, we do not consider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. We are none of those (*Most gracious KING*) who would any way excuse them whose *Horrible Villany* is the cause of so deep a sorrow. *God forbid! God forbid!*

For we publish and declare in the presence of our GOD, whom we serve in spirit, that we do *detest* from our souls that *never till now heard of Parricide*, that *execrable Butchery* of the SA-

CRED

CRED AND ANOINTED HEAD; and that eternally to be lamented *Murther* of the ONELY KING of the Reformed Religion. And why not? When as this *curſed* and *ſacrilegious wickedneſs* does directly fight againſt God, *by whom Kings reign*; againſt his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is *King of Kings*, wills and commands us *to give to Caſar the things which are Caſars*: Yea, and which does the higheſt affront that can be to *Reaſon*, *Humanity*, and the common *ſociety of Subjects*; and (in a word) ſhews what it is to be an *Independent*.

Moſt Renowned King, our deſire is, That the judgements of God be adored and approved of, which, however they may be *irkſome* unto us, and oft-times *ſecret*, yet they are alwayes *juſt*. Among which, theſe are eſpecially to be numbred, *viz.* when God trieth and exerciſeth the *Righteous* by the *wicked*, and is pleaſed that *his own* ſhould groan under the pleaſure of *Strangers*: ('*For we do not acknowledge them to be* ENG-'LISHMEN, *who do riſe up againſt the lawfull* 'KING OF ENGLAND.) Which yet, that it is frequent and uſuall, there is no need we ſhould fetch proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; when as the heavy affliction which is upon your MAJESTIES *Moſt Renowned Family*, is an abundant teſtimony and document; Where there is nothing left for us Chriſtians, but to cry out and ingeminate it with the

the Kingly Prophet, *Lord I opened not my mouth, for thou didst it*, to look up to the chastising right hand of God, to *possess the soul in patience*, to commend *his own Cause* and the defence thereof to the *Mighty Avenger*; yea, and moreover to intercede with GOD for our *Enemies*, as the *Royall soul* of *your* MAJESTIES *Most renowned Father*, who is *now happy in and with his Christ*, has led the way, after the *Example of our Saviour*, and the Protomartyr S. *Stephen*: That they turning to the LORD our GOD may seriously repent, and confessing this their great wickednesse unto him, and beseeching pardon for the same, may likewise return to their Liege-Lord, as also to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the most excellent and compendious way to true consolation. Which consolation shall then at length exercise its full vigour, when *our will* shall have submitted it self to the *Supreme will of GOD*, and have evidenced *actually* and *indeed*, that we have not in vain, or less diligently, so often cryed aloud unto GOD, *Thy will be done*.

We further commend to Your Sacred MAJESTY the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religion, whose very *safe guard* or *Sanctuary* in *England*, He (that *Most Religious* KING) *who now triumphs among the blessed*, did declare to the World at the *point of death*, to rest in *the Canons a Nationall Synod* *. Which truly we can in

* See the Kings Speech on the Scaffold.

no

no wise deny. Which Religion we do earnestly beseech, that your MAJESTY would preserve safe and entire.

For the rest, we do, and ever will pray unto the most high God, to endue Your MAJESTY with his heavenly Spirit; and to furnish you with saving *Counsels*, and faithfull *Counsellours*; to grant you patience, to establish Your Throne; and so to restore Your whole MOST ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY to their *full Rights*; and in the mean while to comfort them.

The *Father* of Mercies, and of all Consolation, grant this in JESUS CHRIST by his holy Spirit. *Amen.*

Monumentum Regale:

OR,

SEVERAL ELEGIES

ON

That most Religious and Blessed *Prince*,

King *CHARLES* the I.

Τῦ Μακαρίτυ Παλιγγενεσία.

ELEGIE I.

I *Come*, but come with trembling, lest I prove
Th' unequall Greet of *Semele* and *Jove*.
As *She* was too *obscure*, and *He* too *bright*,
My *Theme*'s too heavy, and my *Pen* too *light*.
And whilst, like *Midas*, I presume to sit
In wise *Apollo*'s *Chair*, without HIS wit,
Is it not just, t'expect, that He who *dares*
Higher than *Midas*, should wear longer *Ears*?
May not I fear *Patroclus Fate*, and feel
The dangerous honour of *Achilles steel*?
Just like that *busie elf*, whose vent'rous *Pride*
Found none but *TitanTitan*'s Coach could guide;
Why,

Why, *He'l* not *ſtand* in *verſe*. Can I encloſe
Him, whom the greateſt liberty of *Proſe*
Wants room to *hold*; and whoſe *unweildy Name*
Is big enough to *fill* the *Trump of fame*?
An Individuall ſpecies? like the *Sun*,
At once a *Multitude*, and yet but *One*?
One of ſuch vaſt Importance, that He fell
The *Feſtivall* of *Heav'n*, and *England's Hell*?
One, who for eminence was theſe two things,
* *The laſt of Chriſtians*, *and the firſt of Kings*?
One ſo diffuſive, that he liv'd to *all*,
And *One* that dy'd the whole world's *Funeral*?
For *Charles* being thus *diſmounted*, and the *Swain*
High-ſhoo'd Bootes leapt into the *Wain*,
Is not old *Beldame Nature* truly ſaid
T'advance her *Heeles* and ſtand upon her *Head*?
Does not the *Judge*, and *Law* too for a need,
The *Stirrop* hold, whilſt *Treaſon* mounts the *Steed*?
Is not *Gods Word*, and *Providence* beſides,
Uſ'd as a *Lacquay* whilſt th' *white Devil rides*?
Sure *all things* thus into *Confuſion* hurld,
Make, though an *univerſe*, yet not a *World*:
And ſo our *Soveraign's*, like our *Saviours Paſſion*,
Becomes a kind of *Doomſday* to the *Nation*.

It *dead men* did not *walk*, t'would be admir'd
(The *Breath* of all our *Noſtrils* thus *expir'd*)
What 'tis that gives us *motion*. And can I
Who want *my ſelf*, write *Him* an Elegie?
Though *Virgil* turn'd *Evangeliſt*, and wrote,

* De *Catone* vetus dictum, *ultimus Romanorum, Primus Hominum.*

Not from his *Tripod*, but *Gods Altar* taught:
Though all the Poets of the Age ſhould ſit
In *Inqueſt* of *Invention*, and *club wit*,
To make *words Epigrams*; ſhould they combine
To *crowd* whole *ſtock* of Fancie in *each line*;
Sell the *Fee-ſimple* to advance one *ſumme*
(As *Eglis* ſpake but *once*, and then liv'd *dumb*)
'Twere all as *inarticulate* and weak,
As when thoſe men make *ſigns* that cannot *ſpeak*.
But where the *Theme confounds us*,* 'tis a ſort
Of glorious *Merit*, *proudly to fall ſhort*.
Deſpair ſometimes gives *courage*; *any one*
May *liſp him* out who can be *ſpoke* by none,
None but a *King*; No King, unleſſe He be
As *Wiſe*, as *Juſt*, as *Good*, as *Great* as *He*.

When *Late Poſterity* ſhall run t'adviſe
With *Times impartiall Regiſter*, how *Wiſe*
This *Great-one* was, they'l find it there inroll'd,
That He was ne'r in's *Nonage*, but *born old*.
View him whilſt *Prince of Wales*, and it appears
His *wiſdome* did ſo *antedate* his *years*,
That He was *Ful* i'th' *Bud*, and's *Soul* divine,
Neſtor, might be *Great-grandfather* to *thine*.
View him agen, where he ſo *ripe* was grown,
As not to *riſe*, but *drop* into a *Throne*:
How did thoſe *rayes* of *Majeſty*, which were
Scatter'd in *other* Kings, *concentre here*:
As if h'd got King *Sapors ſphere*, and prov'd

* Μεγάλως ἁπλοῦν, ἁμάρτημα εὐγλωσσίας. Longin.

How

How each *Intelligence* his *Orbe* had mov'd:
Wise Charles like *them*, sate steering at two Helms,
King of *himself*, but Father of his *Realms*:
And just as if old *Trismegistus Cup*
Had by his thirsty Soul been *all* drunk up,
His *understanding* did begirt this *All*,
As t'were *Ecliptick* or *Meridionall*.
Suppose a *Dyet* of all Christian *Kings*,
And *Bishops* too, conven'd to weigh the things
Of *Church* and *State*; nay adde *Inferiour* men,
Those of the *Sword*, the *pensil*, and the *pen*,
From th' *Scepter* to the *Sheep-hook*, *Charles* in all
Must have been *Umpire Oecumenicall*.
He liv'd a *Perpendicular*; The *Thread*
His *wisedome* was; *Humility* the *Lead*,
By which he measur'd *Men* and *things*; took aim
At actions *crooked*, and at actions *plain*.
He and all from him into *Cubes* did fall,
And yet as perfect as the *Circle*, *all*.
'Twas he took *Natures Bredth*, and *Depth*, & *Height*,
Knew the just difference 'twixt *Wrong* and *Right*;
He saw the *points* of things, could justly hit
What must be done, what *may*, whats *just*, what *fit*:
As if, like *Moses*, he had had resort
Unto Gods *Councell*, ere he was of's *Court*.
Hence his Religion was his *choyce*, not *Fate*,
Rul'd by *Gods* word, not *Interest* of *State*.
Others may thank their *stars*, He his *inquest*,
Who, *sounding* all sides, *anchor'd* in the *best*.
His *Crown* contain'd a *Mitre*; He did twist

Moſes and *Aaron*, *King* and *Caſuiſt*.
When the *Mahumetan* or *Pope* ſhall look
On his Soul's beſt *Interpreter*, his *Book*;
His *Book*, his *Life*, his *Death* will henceforth be
The *Church* of *England's* beſt *Apology*.
Thus *Dove* and *Serpent* kiſs'd, as if they meant
To render him as *wiſe*, ſo *innocent*.
His own *good Genius* knew not, whether were
His *Heart* more ſingle, or his *Head* more *clear*.
Virtue was his *Prerogative*; and thus
Charles rul'd the *King*, before the *King* rul'd *Us*.
He knew, that to *command*, his onely way
Was firſt to teach his Paſſions to *obey*:
And his inceſſant waiting on *God's* Throne
Gave him ſuch meek *reflexions* on his *own*,
That, being forc't to *cenſures*, he expreſt
A *Judges office* with a *Mothers breaſt*.
And when ſome *ſturdy* violence began
T'unſheath his *ſword*, unwilling to be drawn,
He but *deſtroy'd* (and ſo ſoft *mercy* can)
The *malefactor*, to *preſerve* the *Man*.
Even *hells blind Journey-men*, thoſe *Sons of Night*,
Who look on *ſcarlet murder*, and think t *white*,
Unwillingly confeſs'd, the onely thing
Which made him guilty, was, *That he was King*.
He was *Incarnate Juſtice*, and tis ſaid,
Aſtræa liv'd in him, yet *dy'd* a *Maid*.
We want an *Emblem* for him: *Phœbus* muſt
Stand ſtill in *Libra*, to ſpeak *Charles the Juſt*.
And yet though he were ſuch, that nothing leſs

Then

Then *Virtu's mean* ſtretcht to a *juſt Exceſſe*,
Flew from his ſoul; He, like the *ſun*, was known
To ſee *all excellence* except his *own*.
His Modeſty was *ſuch*, that All which *he*
'Ere *ſpake* or *thought* of's *ſelf*, was *Calumny*;
But yet ſo mixt with *ſtate*, that one might ſee
It made him not *leſſe Kingly*, but *more free*.
He was not like *thoſe Princes*, who t'epreſſe
A *learned ſurfeit*, a *ſublime exceſſe*,
Send to *diſpeople* all the *Sea* of Fiſh,
Depopulate the *Aire* to make *one diſh*,
(Such *skilfull luxuries* as onely ſerve
To make their *minds* more *plentifully ſterve*)
Whatever *Dainties* fill'd his *Board* by *chance*,
His onely *conſtant diſh* was (*a*) *Temperance*:
His *vertue* did ſo *limit* him, his *Court*
Impli'd his *Cloyſter*; and his very *ſport*
Was *Self-deniall*. Nay, though he were ſeen
So *rob'd* in *purple*, and ſo match't t'a *Queen*,
As made him glitter like a *Noon-day Sun*,
Yet ſtill his *Soul* wore *ſackcloth*, and liv'd *Nun*:
(*b*) *Simeon* the *Stylite* in his Pillar pent
Might live more *ſtrict*, but not more *innocent*.
So *wiſe*, ſo *juſt*, ſo *good*, ſo *great* and all,
What is't could ſet him *higher* but his *fall*?

(*a*) Euagr. l. 1. c. 21. *de Monachis quibuſdam*, ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἰδίων βελήσεως, καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐκδολοι, τὴν νηστείαν ἔχουσι, καὶ τραπέζαν διακοπῆ, τὸ μηδὲν (ὅτιοῦν) ὀπαγιάζ. (*b*) Evagr. l. 1. c. 13, ὁ ἐνστάτης καὶ ἄγγελος ὁ Συμεὼν, ὁ ἐν σαγηνῇ τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ πολίτης.

When he caught up by a *Celestiall Train*,
Began his *second* and more *solid Riegn*.
How to that *Heaven* did this *Pilot steer*
Twixt th' *Independent*, and the *Presbyter*,
Plac'd in the confines of two *Shipwracks*: thus
The *Grecks* are seated 'twixt the *Turks* and *Us*.
Whom did *Byzantiũ* free, *Rome* would condemn;
And free'd from *Rome*, they are enslav'd by *them*.
So plac'd betwixt a *Precipice* and *Wolf*,
There the *Ægean*, here the *Venice gulf*,
What with the *rising* and the *setting Sun*,
By these the are *hated*, and by those *undone*.
Thus *virtu's* hemm'd with *vices*, & though either
Sollicites her consent, she yields to neither:
Nay thus our *Saviour*, to inhance his grief,
Was hung betwixt a *Murderer* and a *Thief*.

Now *Charles* as *King*, and as a *good King too*,
Being *Christs adopted self*, was both to do
And *suffer* like him, both to live and die,
So much more *humble*, as he was more *high*
Then his own *Subjects*. He was thus to tread
In the same footsteps, and submit his Head
To the same *thorns*, when *spit* upon, and *beat*,
To make his *Conscience* serve for his *retreat*,
And *overcome* by *suffering*; to take up
His Saviours *Crosse*, and pledge him in his *Cup*.

Since then our *Soveraign*, by just account,
Liv'd o'te our *Saviours Sermon* in the Mount,
And di'd all Christian Precepts so reduce,
That's *Life* the *Doctrine* was, his *Death* the *Use*;

Poste-

Posterity will say, he should have dy'd
No other *Death*, then by being *crucifi'd*:
And their renownedst *Epocha* will be
Great Charles his Death, next *Christs Nativity*.
Thus *Treason's* grown most *Orthodox*; who since
They said they'd [*make him the most glorious Prince*
In all the Christian world] 'tis plain, this way
They onely *promis'd* what they meant to *pay*.
For now (besides that *beatifick Vision*
Where all *desire* is *lost* into *fruition*)
The *stones* they hurled at him with intent
To *crush* his *fame*, have prov'd his *monument*.
Their *Libels* his best *Obelsike*; To have
A fit *Mausole*, were to *want* a *Grave*.
His *Scaffold*, like *mount Tabor*, will in story
Become the proudest *Theatre of all Glory*,
Next to the *blessed Crosse*: and thus 'tis sense,
T'affirm him *murder'd* in his *own Defence*.
For though all *Hells Artillery* and *skill*
Combin'd together to *besiege* his *Will*;
And when their *malice* could not bring't about
To hurt *God's* Image, they ras'd *Adam's* out,
(Like men repuls'd, whose *Choler* thinks it witty
To burn the *Suburbs* when they can't the *City*)
How'ere they *storm'd* his *walls*, & *drain'd* his *blood*,
Which *moted round* his *Soul*; yet still he stood
Defender of the Faith, (and that which He
Found sweeter then revenge) his *Charity*.
This then the utmost was their rage could do,
[*It* shew'd him *King* of his *afflictions* too.]

Untempted Vertue is but *coldly good*,
(As ſhe's ſcarce *chaſte* that's ſo but in *cold blood*)
To ſcorn *baſe Quarter* is the beſt *eſcape*,
(As *Lucrece* dy'd the *chaſter* for her *rape*)
Theſe *two* did *Charles* his *Vertue* moſt *befriend*,
His *glorious hardſhips* firſt, and then his *end*.
Death we forgive thee, and thy *Bourreaux* too,
Since that did ſeem *thy rape*, proves but *his due*.
For how could he be ſaid to fall *too ſoon*,
Whoſe *green* was *mellow*, & whoſe *dawn* was *noon*?
Since *Charles* was only by thy *courteous knife*,
Redeem'd from this great *injury* of *life*
To one ſo laſting, that 'tis truly ſaid
Not *He*, but his *mortality* is dead---
To weep his Death's the *treaſon* of our *eyes*;
Our *Sun* did onely *ſet* that he might *riſe*.

But we do *mock*, not *cheat* our *grief*, and ſit
Onely at beſt t'*upbraid* our ſelves in *wit*,
And want him *learnedly*: ſuch *colours* do
Diſguiſe diſaſters, not *delude* them too.
For though, I muſt confeſs, a Poet can
Fancy things *better* than another man,
He can *but* fancy'um; and all his pains
Is but to fill his *belly* with his *brains*:
He may both *petrifi'd* and famiſht ſit,
That *wears* his *thought*, and onely *dines* on *wit*.
Were I a *Polypus*, and could go on
To *be* thoſe very things I *think* upon,
I would not then complain; but ſince I know

To

To *call* things *thus*, is not to *make* them so,
Great Charles is slain: and say we what we will,
Yet we shall find, *judgements* are *judgements* still.

For though 'tis true, that his *now immense* Sol
Doth hold commensuration with each *Pole*;
Though he doth shine a *Star* more *fixt* & bright
Then where the *year* makes but *one day & night*:
And, lest he fill the *Zodiack*, doth appeare
Not in the *eighth* but *Empyræan* Sphere;
Yet we his *rise* may our *descension* call,
As *Libra*'s *mounting* is *poor Aries fall.*
He was the onely *Moses* that could stand
Betwixt the *sins* and *judgements* of the Land.
And what can we expect, our *Lot* being gone,
But that a *Hel* from *Heaven* should tumble down
On our more sinfull *Sodom?* (unlesse we
Are *damn'd* yet *worse* to an *impunity*.)
Kings are *Gods once remov'd:* It hence appears
No *Court* but *Heav'ns* can try them by their *Peers*.
So that for *Charles the Good* to have been try'd
And *cast* by *mortal* Votes, was *Deicide:*
No *sin*, except the *first*, hath ever past
So black as this; no *Judgement*, but the *last*.
How does our *Delos*, which so lately stood
Unmov'd, lie *floting* in her *Pilots blood?*
And can we hope to *Anchor*, who discern
Nought but the *Tempest* ruling at the *stern*;
Whilest *Pluto*'s *Rival*, with his *Saints* by's side,
Drawn by the *spirit* of *avarice* and *pride*,

Being

Being fairly placed in the *Chair* of *scorn*,
Sits *brewing Tears* in Infants yet *unborn*?
Vast *stocks* of *misery*, which his *Guardian-rage*
Does *husband* for them till they come to *age*?
When *future times* shall look what *Plagues* befel
Egypt and *us*, by way of *Parallel*,
They'l find at once presented to their *view*
The *Frogs* and *Lice*, and *Independents* too.
Onely this *signall difference* will be known
'Twixt those *Egyptian* judgements and our *own*;
Those were *Gods Armies*, but th' *effect* doth tell
That these *our Vermin* are the *Host of Hell*.
Pausanias and *Herostratus* will look
Like *Pigmy-sinners* writ in *Times black book*:
The *Spanish Fleet* and *Powder-plot* will lack
Their usuall *mentions* in our *Almanack*:
---Nay, which is more (*c*) *Alaricus* his *name*
Will scarce be *legible* i'th' *leaves* of *fame*,
When *Cromwell* shall be read. *Nature* was ne're
So blessedly *reform'd*, since *Lucifer*.

O for a *Jeremy* to *lament* our *woe*!
From whom such *tragick Rhetorick* might flow,
As would *become* our *misery*, and *dresse*
Our *sorrowes* with a *dreadful gawdinesse*!
For next those *hovering judgments*, which the fall
Of *One* so *great*, so *good*, makes *Verticall*,

(c) Socrat. l. 7. c. 10. *hoc Alarichi responsum recitat.* ἐκ ἐγὼ ἐξελοῦμαι τὰ ἐμὲ πορεύομαι, ἀλλά τις καθ' ἑκάστην ὀκλεῖ μοι βασανίζων, καὶ λέγων [ἄπιθι, τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πόρθησον πόλιν.]

(And

(And ruſhing down, may onely be withſtood,
It *Charles* his *prayers* cry louder than his *blood*)
I ſay next that, It is our ſecond Croſſe,
We can't grieve *worthy* of ſo great a Loſſe.
To weep upon this *ſubject*, and *weep ſenſe*,
Requires we ſhould be born *ten Ages hence*.
The *greater* are the *heights* an Artiſt's hand
Deſigns to take, the *farther* he muſt *ſtand*.
As when *Sol*'s in's *Zenith* He implies
His daz'ling glory *beſt*, that *ſhuts* his eyes:
So, where the *Theme*'s *ineffable*, the way
To *ſpeak* it is, (*d*) *Not to know what to ſay.*

(d) Herodot. l. 3. *Pſammetichus ad Cambyſem, cum Amicorum vicem lacrymis lugeret, ſuam verò ſilentio,* τὰ μὲν οἰκήια κακὰ ἦν μείζω ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν, &c.

II.

GReat! Good! and Juſt! could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,
I'de weep the world to ſuch a ſtrain,
As it ſhould Deluge once again.
But ſince thy loud-tongu'd blood demands ſupplies
More from *Briareus* hands than *Argus* eyes,
I'le ſing Thy Obſequies with Trumpet ſounds,
And write thy *Epitaph* with *Blood* and *Wounds*.

MONTROSE.

Written with the point of his Sword.

Were

III.

WEre not my *Faith* buoy'd up by ſacred blood,
It might be drown'd in this prodigious flood;
Which reaſons higheſt ground doth ſo exceed,
It leaves my *ſoul* no Anch'rage but my *Creed*,
Where my *Faith* reſting on th' *Originall*,
Supports it ſelf in this the *Copies* fall;
So while my Faith floats on that *Bloody wood*,
My reaſon's caſt away in this *Red floud*,
Which neere o'reflows us all: Thoſe ſhowers paſt
Made but Land-flouds, which did ſome vallies waſt;
This ſtroke hath cut the onely neck of land
Which between us and this *Red ſea* did ſtand,
That covers now our world, which curſed lies
At once with two of *Egypts* prodigies;
O're-caſt with *darkneſs*, & with blood o're-run,
And juſtly, ſince our hearts have theirs out-done;
Th'inchanter led them to a leſs-known ill,
To act his ſin, then 'twas their *King to kill*:
Which crime hath widowed our whole Nation,
Voided all Forms, left but privation
In *Church* and *State*; inverting ev'ry right;
Brought in Hells State of fire without light.
No wonder then, if all good eyes look red,
Waſhing their Loyal hearts from blood ſo ſhed;
The which deſerves each pore ſhould turn an eye,

To

To weep out even a bloody *Agony.*
Let nought then paſs for *Muſick* but ſad cryes;
For *Beauty* bloodleſs cheeks, & blood-ſhot eyes;
All colours ſoil, but black; all odours have
Ill ſent, but *Myrrhe*, incens'd upon this *Grave.*
It notes a *Few*, not to believe us much
The cleaner made by a religious touch
Of this *Dead Body*, whom to judge to die,
Seems the Judaicall impiety.
To kill the *King*, the *Spirit Legion* paints
His rage with Law, the Temple and the Saints:
But the truth is, He fear'd, and did repine,
To be caſt out, and back into the Swine:
And the caſe holds, in that the Spirit bends
His malice in this act againſt his ends;
For it is like, the ſooner hee'l be ſent
Out of that body he would ſtill torment.
Let *Chriſtians* then uſe otherwiſe this blood,
Deteſt the Act, yet turn it to their good;
Thinking how like a *King of death* He dies,
We eaſily may the world and death deſpiſe:
Death had no ſting for him, and its ſharp arm,
Onely of all the troop, meant him no harm.
And ſo he look'd upon the *Ax*, as one
Weapon yet left to guard Him to His Throne.
In His great Name then may his Subiects cry,
Death thou art ſwallowed up in Victory.
If this our loſs a comfort can admit,
'Tis that his narrowed *Crown* is grown unfit
For his enlarged Head, ſince his diſtreſs

Had

Had greatned this, as it made that the leſs;
His *Crown* was faln unto too low a thing
For him, who was become ſo great a *King*:
So the ſame hands enthron'd him in that *Crown*
They had exalted from him, not pull'd down:
And thus Gods truth by them hath rendred more,
Then ere mens falſhood promis'd to reſtore;
Which, ſince by death alone he could attain,
Was yet exempt from weakneſs and from pain;
Death was enjoyn'd by God, to touch a part
Might make his paſſage quick, ne're move his heart,
Which ev'n expiring, was ſo far from death,
It ſeem'd but to command away his breath.
And thus his *ſoul*, of this her triumph proud,
Broke, like a flaſh of lightning, through the cloud
Of fleſh and blood; and from the higheſt line
Of humane virtue, paſs'd to be divine.
Nor is't much leſs his vertues to relate,
Then the high glories of his preſent ſtate;
Since both then paſs all Acts, but of belief,
Silence may praiſe the one, the other grief.
And ſince, upon the Diamond, no leſs
Than Diamonds will ſerve us to impreſs,
Ile onely wiſh, that for his Elegie,
This our *Joſias* had a *Jeremie*.

AN

AN EPITAPH.

WIthin this ſacred Vault doth lie
The Quinteſſence of MAJESTY,
Which being ſet, more glorious ſhines;
The beſt of KINGS, beſt of Divines;
Britains ſhame, and *Britains* glory,
Mirrour of Princes, complete Story
Of ROYALTY; one ſo exact,
That th' *Elixirs* of praiſe detract:
Theſe are faint ſhadows; but t' endure,
He's drawn to th' life in's *PORTRAICTURE*:
If ſuch another Piece you'ld ſee,
Angels muſt limn it out, or He;
Where Wiſdome, Grace, and Eloquence,
Are centred in their eminence.
Martyr'd he was to ſave his Laws,
Religion, People, from the Jaws
Of ASSASINES; whoſe weal he ſought,
Even then when they His Murder wrought
With horrid plots, that headleſs He
(And in him Church and State) might be.
Then ſince Correlatives they were,
Three Kingdomes in one KING *lie here.*

ORA ET ABI.

THE END.

A Hymn *to King* CHARLS *the* I^t.

BRight Soul! inſtruct us Mortals how to mourn,
How to approach, yet not profane thine Urn.
To come with Humane Sighs, or Eyes,
Were ſure too bold a Sacrifice.
Leſt a foul tear or nauſeous guſt
Should ſcatter or defile thy Duſt,
We ſhould in homage to thy Shrine
Weep out our humour Cryſtalline,
Which there congeal'd might Sapphirs turn
By borrowing Luſtre from thine Urn.
They onely know ſuch Loſſes to Condole,
Who can for every Sigh, breathe out a Soul.

Bright Soul! instruct us to that just respect
With which thy Hallowed Ashes must be deckt.

To build them Trophees were unjust:
Thy Vertues canopy thy Dust.
To write upon them were unsafe:
Thy name is thy best Epitaph.
To carve thy Statue were amisse:
Thy Book thy best *Colossus* is.
T'inclose thy Reliques were uneven:
No Shrine is fit for them, but Heaven.

Can Nothing lend thee Lustre? may we turn
Nothing, if nothing can adorn thine Urn.

CHO-

CHORUS.

Hark, how each Orb his Time doth keep,
Whilſt Peals of Angels ring;
And ſince we cannot fitly weep,
Let's try how we can ſing.
Since Charls *advanc'd beyond the King,*
Is plac'd above his wain,
'Twere ſure a ſacrilegious thing
To weep him down again.
Then let our accents all conſpire
With Heav'ns loud harmonyes:
Whilſt this ſhort Anthem fills the Quire,
He's welcome to the Skyes.

THE END.

CHORUS.

Let's try how we can sing.
And there we cannot fail;
With Peals of Angels ring;
Hark! how each orb his Time doth keep?

A Table of the Contents.

I.

Several Speeches delivered by His Majesty *to the two Houses at Westminster, and at other places since the beginning of this Parliament.*

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15 At *Theobalds*, at the delivery of the Petition for the *Militia*, *March* 1. 1641. p. 20

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19 To the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of *Notting.* at *Newark*, *July* 4. 1642. p. 28

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33 His *Majeſties* farewel Speech to the Commiſſioners at *Newport*, *Nov.*1648. p.54

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